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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Nazareth, Pa.

VOLUME II.

WHITEFIELD HOUSE,
NAZARETH:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1886.

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PREFACE.

The first series of the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society comprised a period of eighteen years, from 1858 to 1876. The second series, which is now completed, embraces a period of ten years, from 1877 to 1886. It must be remembered that the money at the disposal of the Society for publication purposes is limited, and that the Publication Committee depends upon the voluntary and unpaid labors of those who are interested in Moravian historical research.

The Society publicly thanks all those who have furthered its publication work.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I.

This association shall be called "The Moravian Historical Society," and its object shall be the elucidation of the History of the Moravian Church in America, not, however, to the exclusion of the general History of the Moravian Church.

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The Society shall be composed of such persons as have been, or may be, admitted, from time to time, according to its laws and regulations.

ARTICLE III.

The Officers of the Society shall be annually chosen by a majority of ballots, at the Annual Meeting in September, and shall consist of a President, not more than ten Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Librarian. The Officers so chosen shall enter upon the duties of their offices immediately after the annual meeting in September. If the Society neglect to hold an election at the specified time, then the Officers of the preceding year shall continue in office until the next annual meeting.

ARTICLE IV.

It shall be the duty of the President, or in his absence, of the Vice-Presidents, in rotation, to preside at the meetings of the Society, to preserve order, to regulate the debates, to state motions and resolutions, and to announce the decisions thereupon. If neither the President nor any of the Vice-Presidents be present at a meeting, the Society may choose a member to act as President at that meeting.

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The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct and have charge of the correspondence of the Society.

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The Recording Secretary shall keep full and correct minutes of the meetings of the Society and Executive Board, and shall transcribe the same into a book of record. He shall give due notice of any special meeting that may be called.

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The Treasurer shall have charge of the moneys and other funds belonging to the Society. He shall collect the contributions of the members and other income of the Society, and shall pay such claims against the Society as shall have been duly examined and ordered to be paid. He shall present, at the Annual Meeting, a statement of the receipts and expenditures during the preceding year, with a full report on the financial condition of the Society. And it shall be the duty of the Executive Board to have the Treasurer's accounts audited previous to every Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Librarian shall have charge of the books, manuscripts, and other property in the rooms of the Society, and shall arrange and preserve the same in proper and convenient order. He shall keep a catalogue of the books, manuscripts, and other donations, with the names of donors. At the Annual Meeting he shall present a report to the Society, embracing an account of his administration of the Library, and of its condition during the preceding year.

ARTICLE IX.

The Executive Board shall fill all vacancies that occur in any of the above-named offices; but such appointment shall be only for the unexpired term of the person vacating the office.

ARTICLE X.

The Annual Meeting shall be held in the month of September, on such day as the Executive Board shall appoint. Special meetings may be called by the President, or in his absence by any of the Vice-Presidents at the written request of at least three members of the Society, of which meeting due notice must be given. The members present at any meeting shall constitute a quorum.

ARTICLE XI.

No alteration shall be made in this Constitution unless the proposed amendments shall have been drawn up in writing and presented to the Executive Board at any regular meeting of the same, said amendments to be acted upon at the next Annual Meeting.

LAWS OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Any person belonging to the Moravian Church may become an Active Member upon application to any officer of the Society.

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ARTICLE IV.

Associate and Associate Life Members may attend any meeting of the Society and enjoy all the rights of Active Members, except that of voting and holding office.

ARTICLE V.

Those Active Members shall be deemed qualified voters at the meetings and elections, who have subscribed the Constitution, and who have paid all their dues to the Society.

ARTICLE VI.

All Active and Associate Members shall pay an annual contribution of no less than seventy-five cents. The payment of ten dollars at one time by a Member not in arrears to the Society shall constitute him a Member for Life. Any Member liable to annual contribution who shall refuse or neglect to pay the same for three years shall forfeit his membership, and his name shall be stricken from the roll.

ARTICLE VII.

Honorary Members may attend any meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII.

At the Annual Meeting in September, five managers shall be chosen by the Society, who, together with the Officers of the Society, shall constitute an Executive Committee, with full power to direct the business affairs of the Society at all times; and they shall meet on the second Monday of January, April, July and October.

ARTICLE IX.

All Committees shall be chosen, unless the Society shall otherwise direct, on nominations previously made and seconded. The member first elected of any Committee shall be chairman, and considered responsible for the discharge of the duties of the Committee. A majority of any Committee shall be a quorum.

ARTICLE X.

The Executive Committee shall present, at the Annual Meeting, a report upon the transactions and general condition of the Society during the preceding year.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Baker, Charles M., Philadelphia, Pa.
Bell, Edward Jordan, " "
Bell, Emily, " "
Bell, Laura, " "
Bell, Helen, " "
Borhek, Ashton C., Bethlehem, Pa.
Borhek, Henry G., " "
De Groot, A. Staten Island, N. Y.
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Ellis, Frank H., Philadelphia, Pa.
Esler, Lewis H., " "
Frueauff, Wm. H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hagen, Rev. F. F.,
Henry, Clara, Nazareth, Pa.
Henry, Mary E., " "
Henry, Sophia L., " "
Holland, Rev. W. J., Pittsburgh, Pa.
Holmes, W. D., Bethlehem, Pa.
Jacobson, Henry A., " "
Jones, Mary A., " "
Jones, Maurice W. A., " "
Jordan, Clara Sparks, Philadelphia, Pa.
Jordan, Ewing, M.D., " "
Jordan, Francis, jr., " "
Jordan, John, jr., " "
Jordan, John W., " "
Jordan, Rev. Walter., " "
Jordan, Wm. H., " "
Kluge, Rev. E. T., Nazareth, Pa.
Knight, J. Frank, Philadelphia, Pa.
Krause, Hortentia V., Bethlehem, Pa,
Krause, Samuel J., " "
Leibert, Augustus H., " "
Leinbach, Rev. R. P., Bethania, N. C.
Lennert, Rev. Wm. L., Nazareth, Pa.
Leslie, C. M. S., Philadelphia, Pa.
Lockwood, John P., Minneapolis, Minn.
Malin, Wm. G., Philadelphia, Pa.
Man, Capt. Wm., Woodbridge, England.
Martin, John Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
Oerter, Rev. A. L., Bethlehem, Pa.
Pemsel, J. F., London, England.
Rau, Simon, Bethlehem, Pa.
Reed, George K., Lancaster, Pa.
Rice, Joseph A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Schropp, Abraham S., Bethlehem, Pa.
Scranton, Selden T., Oxford, N. J.
Smith, Edward O., Philadelphia, Pa.
Sparks, T. Weston, " "
Stadiger, Caroline S., Bethlehem, Pa.
Van Vleck, Rt. Rev. H. J.,
Gnadenhütten, O.
Van Vleck, Rev. W. T., " "
Warner, Massah M., Philadelphia, Pa.
Webster, B. C., New York.
Wilbur, E. P., South Bethlehem, Pa.
Wilhelm, Frederick, Brooklyn, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS.

Abel, Frank B., Nazareth, Pa.
Austin, Esmond H., Philadelphia, Pa.
Bahnson, Rev. G. F., Nazareth, Pa.
Beck, Abraham R., Lititz, Pa.
Beitel, Richard O., Nazareth, Pa.
Bishop, Emil J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Bishop, Gilbert, " "
Borhek, Estella S., " "
Borhek, James T., sr., " "
Borhek, Louisa E., " "
Borhek, R. W., " "
Brickenstein, Rev. H. A., Lititz, Pa.
Brunner, C. Otto, Bethlehem, Pa.
Brunner, Frank, " "
Burger, John N., Elizabeth, N. J.
Chitty, S. C., Bethlehem, Pa.
Clauder, Henry T., New York.
Clewell, Henry C., Nazareth, Pa.
Coffin, Selden J., Easton, Pa.
Desh, H. C., Bethlehem, Pa.
Doster, W. Emil, Bethlehem, Pa.
Dunglison, Wm. L., South Bethlehem, Pa.
Eggert, Charles, Bethlehem, Pa.
Eggert, H. B., " "
Erwin, F. H., " "
Fetter, Ambrose, " "
Fetter, Marcus, " "
Fradeneck, Theo., " "
Greider, Rev. E. C., West Indies.
Greider, George J., Bethlehem, Pa.
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Haas, Robert, " "
Hamilton, Rev. J. T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hamilton, William, " "

Hamman, E. H., Emmaus, Pa.
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Hartmann, C. F., Nazareth, Pa.
Harvey, J. Cennick, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Henry, Granville, Nazareth, Pa.
Henry, James, " ",
Higgins, Wm., New York.
Hirst, J. E., Bethlehem, Pa.
Hoch, Rev. Wm. H., So. Bethlehem, Pa.
Hunt, Edward, Bethlehem, Pa.
Jacobson, Edward H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Jacobson, J. Charles, " "
Kern, Gustav A., Nazareth, Pa.
Klosè, Charles, Philadelphia, Pa.
Klosè, Rev. E. G., Bethlehem, Pa.
Knauss, Wm. V., " "
Knauss, Mrs. Wm. V., " "
Krause, C. W., " "
Krause, Edward J,, " "
Kunkel, Frank, Nazareth, Pa.
Lamberton, R. A., LL.D. So.Bethlehem.
Lawall, L. H., M.D., Bethlehem, Pa.
Lehman, B. E., " "
Leibfried, L. F., " "
Leibert, Rev. Eugene, Nazareth, Pa.
Leibert, Frank J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Leibert, Joseph M., Bethlehem, Pa.
Leibert, Rev. M. W., " "
Leibert, R. W., " "
Levering, Rev. J. M., " "
Lichtenthæler, Rev. A., Nazareth, Pa.
Luckenbach, David O., Bethlehem, Pa.
Luckenbach, Jacob W., " "
Luckenbach, O. A., " "
Martin, C. F., Nazareth, Pa.
Michael, C. E., " "
Miksch, Levin A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Milchsack, H. T., " "
Neisser, Charles H., " "
Neu, Rev. C., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Oerter, Rev. E. A., Canal Dover, Ohio.
Opp, Charles B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Osborne, Edward F., " "
Peisert, James, " "
Potts, Joseph D., Philadelphia, Pa.
Rau, Robert, Bethlehem, Pa.
Reinke, Rt. Rev. A. A., New York.
Rice, Fred. J., Bethlehem, Pa.
Rice, Rev. Wm. H., New York.
Ricksecker, Edmund, Nazareth, Pa.
Rondthaler, Rev Ambrose, Bethlehem.
Schropp, Mrs. Abraham, Bethlehem, Pa.
Schropp, C. William, Philadelphia, Pa.
Schropp, Lizzie B., Bethlehem, Pa.
Schropp, Mary H., " "
Schultze, Rev. Augustus, " "
Schweinitz, Rt. Rev. E. de, " "
Schæfer, Eugene L., " "
Shoemaker, R. M., jr., Philadelphia, Pa.
Smyth, Rev. C. S., Jamaica, W. I.
Stout, Frank C., Audenried, Pa.
Træger, Joseph H., Bethlehem, Pa.
Tschudy, Haydn H., Lititz, Pa.
Ulman, Edgar J., South Bethlehem, Pa.
Warman, Rev. J. F., Nazareth, Pa.
Wendel, Wm. M., Bethlehem, Pa.
Wessels, Edward J., New York.
Wolle, C. A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Wolle, Rev. Edward S., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Wolle, Rev. Francis, Bethlehem, Pa.
Wolle, N. S., Lititz Pa.
Wuensche, Rev. J. E., New Foundland, Pa.
Yost, John T., Bethlehem, Pa.

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1885—1886.

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JAMES HENRY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

The Rt. Rev. E. deSchweinitz, The Rev. Edward T. Kluge,
" " A. A. Reinke, " W. H. Rice,
" " H. J. Van Vleck, " R. P. Leinbach,
" Rev. Eugene Leibert, Wm. H. Jordan,
Nathaniel S. Wolle.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

Frank Kunkel.

LIBRARIAN:

E. T. Grunewald.

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Granville Henry, Augustus H. Leibert,
Wm. V. Knauss.

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" " A. Lichtenthæler, Frank Kunkel,
E. T. Grunewald.

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The Rev. E. G. Klosè, The Rev. H. A. Brickenstein,
Robert Rau.

GRAVEYARD COMMITTEE:

C. E. Michael, Robert Haas.

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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

SECOND SERIES.

PART I.

[N. B.—In binding detach this eight page form and insert the full preface and contents accompanying the last number of the Second Series.]

NAZARETH.
1877.

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ARTICLE IX.

The Executive Board shall fill all vacancies that occur in any of the above named offices; but such appointment shall be only for the unexpired term of the person vacating the office.

ARTICLE X.

The Annual Meeting shall be held in the month of September, on such day as the Executive Board shall appoint. Special meetings may be called by the President, or in his absence by any of the Vice Presidents at the written request of at least three members of the Society, of which meeting due notice must be given. The members present at any meeting shall constitute a quorum.

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LIST OF MEMBERS, 1877.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Baker, Charles M., Philadelphia.
Bell, Edward Jordan, "
Bell, Emily, "
Bell, Helen, "
Bell, Laura, "
Brickenstein, John C., Nazareth, Pa.
Ellis, Frank H., Philadelphia.
Esler, Lewis H., "
Frueauff, W. H. T., Detroit. Mich.
Hagen, Rev. F. F., Blairsville, Iowa.
Henry, Clara, Schoeneck, Pa.
Henry, Mary E., " "
Henry, Sophia L., " "
Jacobson, Henry A., Nazareth, Pa.
Jordan, Ewing, M.D., Philadelphia.
Jordan, Francis, "
Jordan, Francis, Jr., "
Jordan, John, Jr., "
Jordan, John W., "
Jordan, William H., "
Jordan, Rev. Walter, Lebanon, Pa.
Kluge, Rev. E. T., Bethlehem, Pa.
Krause, Hortensia V., Bethlehem, Pa.
Krause, J. Samuel, " "
Lennert, Rev. W. L., Nazareth, Pa
Leslie, C. M. S., Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.
Leinbach, Rev. R. P., Bethania, N. C.
Lockwood, John P., England.
Malin, William G., Philadelphia.
Man, Capt. William, Woodbridge, Eng.
Martin, John Hill, Philadelphia.
Rau, Simon, Bethlehem, Pa.
Reed, George K., Lancaster, Pa.
Reichel, Rt. Rev. Levin T., Herrnhut, Saxony, Germany.
Scranton, Selden T., Oxford, N. J.
Shultz, Rt. Rev. Henry A., Bethlehem, Pa.
Smith, Edward O., Philadelphia.
Sparks, T. Weston, "
Webster, B. C., New York City.
Wilhelm, Frederick, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Wolle, Augustus, Bethlehem, Pa.
VanVleck, Rev. H. J., Gnadenhütten, O.
Van Vleck, W. T., Gnadenhütten, Ohio.

CONTRIBUTING MEMBERS.

IOWA.

Hoch, Rev. William H., Harmony.

NORTH CAROLINA.

Oerter, Rev. Albert L, Salem.
Rondthaler, Rev. Edward, "
Schweinitz, Rt. Rev. E. A. de "

NEW JERSEY.

Evaul, Elizabeth S., Palmyra.
Higgins, William, Jersey City.

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Erdman, Martin A., New York.
Groot, A. de, Staten Island.
Reinke, Rt. Rev. A. A., New York.
Wuenche, Rev. J. E., Utica.

OHIO.

Cunning, J. D., Tuscarawas.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Carbon Co.

Stout, Frank C., Audenried.

Lancaster Co.

Beck, Abraham R., Lititz.
Brickenstein, Rev. H. A., "
Crist, Francis W., "
Fett, Rev. John F., "
Huebner, M. T., "
Shultz, Rev. C. B., Lancaster.
Tschudy, H. H., Lititz.
Wolle, Nathaniel S., "

Northampton Co.

Bishop, Edwin P., Bethlehem.
Bishop, Gilbert, "
Borhek, Ashton C., "
Borhek, Henry G., "
Borhek, James T., Sen., "
Brunner, C. Otto, "
Clauder, Henry T., "
Doster, W. E., "
Eggert, Chas. H., "
Fetter, Marcus, "
Fradeneck, Theodore, "
Jacobson, Edward H., M.D., "
Jones, Amanda T., "
Jones, Mary A. L., "
Jones, Maurice C., "
Kampmann, Rev. Lewis F., "
Klosè Rev. Edwin G., "
Knauss, Cornelius M., "
Knauss, Louisa, "
Krause, Cornelius W., "
Lehman, Bernhard E., "
Leibert, Augustus H., "
Leibert, Joseph M., "
Lerch, John, "
Luckenbach, David O., "
Luckenbach, Edward H., "
Luckenbach, Owen A., "
Luckenbach, Reuben O., "
Miksch, Levin A., "
Neisser, Charles H., "
Opp, Charles B., "
Perkin, George W., "
Rau, Robert, "
Rauch, James K., "
Rice, Joseph A., "
Schropp, Abraham S., "
Schropp, Caroline, "
Schultze, Rev. Augustus, "
Schweinitz, Rt. Rev. Edm. de "
Schweinitz, Rev. Robert de "
Traeger, Joseph H., "
Wintersteen, Mary, "
Wolle, Rev. Francis, "
Coffin, Prof. Selden J., Easton.
Beisel, J. P., Nazareth.
Beitel, John F., "
Beitel, Richard O., "
Beitel, Sophia, Nazareth.
Blum, S. J., "
Clewell, Benjamin, "
Clewell, Henry C., "
Clewell, Jacob L., Jr., "
Culp, H. Ellen, "
Grunewald, Edward T., "
Haas, Robert, "
Hamilton, John T., "
Hark, Joseph, M.D., "
Hartman, C. Frederick, "
Hoeber, Christian R., "
Hoeber, Edward E., "
Kern, Edward C., "
Kern, Gustavus, "
Leibert, Rev. Eugene, "
Leibfried, John C., "
Leibfried, Levin F., "
Martin, C. F., "
Michael, C. E., "
Miksch, Jacob, "
Milchsack, Henry T., "
Oehler, Rev. C. T., "
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FRIEDENSTHAL

AND ITS

STOCKADED MILL.

A MORAVIAN CHRONICLE,

1749–1767.

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM C. REICHEL,

AND CONTRIBUTED BY

JOHN W. JORDAN.

WHITEFIELD HOUSE,
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1877.

INTRODUCTION.

The within historical paper was written by the late Professor William C. Reichel, at the instance of one of a company of ladies and gentlemen,—many of them lineal descendants of those whose names occur in the narrative; but all lovers of the olden time, of olden memories, and of "Old Dutch Government Java,"—who proposed to meet in August of 1875, at Friedensthal, in Palmer Township, Northampton County, to pass a day of social pleasure on the site of a Moravian Economy which had its seat there when Pennsylvania was still a Province of the British Crown. Owing, however, to inclement weather and to other causes, the "field-day" was deferred until the autumn of the following year. When that time came the illness of the author and his subsequent death in October 1876, caused its indefinite postponement. The paper is strictly authentic in all its details, and hence may be justly regarded as a valuable contribution to the history of the early Moravian Settlements. Treating of this people, it treats of one portion of the German element of the population of Pennsylvania,—that element, which, though held in low esteem by the Proprietary Governors despite the high regard in which they were held by old Proprietor Penn, has proved itself to have been mighty in rearing the solid structure of our Commonwealth.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

SEPTEMBER, 1877.

Friedensthal and its Stockaded Mill.

A MORAVIAN CHRONICLE.

1749–1767.

For those who are read in the history of the Moravian movement in the Province of Pennsylvania, the spot, on which we are gathered so informally this summer-afternoon, on the greensward and in the shade of trees, has irresistible attractions. It is the site of a primitive Moravian settlement. *One hundred and twenty-six* years ago, the 13th day of January last, the fall of the first tree at the axe-man's hand, as it awoke echoes in these woods, told of the occupation of the white man and of his purpose to build him here a home. It was, however, not for a cabin,—not for a straggling hamlet, nor for a town with dusty streets, that tree after tree was here sent headlong to the ground. The olden time Moravian settlement had its type in none of these. It was fashioned after an old-world type; after a model brought by the Brethren from the fatherland, and which, we have reason to believe, they loved to perpetuate, in the hope that peradventure through its presence, the memories of ancestral homes might be kept green in the hearts of their children and of childrens' children far down the stream of time.

There are those living who well remember "Old Nazareth," Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring, as they were some sixty years ago. Then already, it is true, they were decadent; and yet, despite all that the march of time, new modes of thought and new generations of men were doing to erase it, they bore on the faces of them the birth-mark which unmistakably proclaimed their Moravo-Silesian parentage. Theirs was the type of the olden-time Moravian settlement. A quadrangular area enclosed within solidly built structures

of wood and stone; on one side stabling and stalls for horses, horned cattle, sheep and swine; on the second a spacious barn and shelter for wains and carts; on the third a row of shops,—a shop for the baker, one for the cordwainer and weaver,—a house for the curing and storing of flax, a smithy and a cider-press; and on the fourth the dwellings of the hard-working people who inhabited the forest oasis,—large, lumbering structures of log or of frame and "brick-nogged,"—invariably hip-roofed, and one of them sure to be capped with a turret in which swung a bell, that rang out over hill and dale and down into the deep woods every day, at sunrise and at sunset, its sweet summons to the house of prayer. Verily it needed but a moat and a drawbridge to have transformed these granges into impregnable strongholds.

On the ground on which we are met there stood until the close of the last century a Moravian settlement of this kind, comprising within its limits a plantation and plantation-buildings, a dairy, and a mill for the grinding of bread. Thirty-five years ago its demolition was completed, and, saving the well in the barn-yard, there is no vestige of it left. Great, then, in view of this utter annihilation, is, I ween, the debt of gratitude we are owing to the early annalists of our Church, who, with exemplary providence, committed to writing day by day, or week by week, whatever of moment occurred in their little world; thus enabling us after the lapse of more than one hundred years, to hold pleasant converse to-day with the men and women who once peopled this peaceful vale.

Now the origin, rise and growth of Friedensthal were on this wise.

The expenditure of time and labor incurred annually by the Brethren at Nazareth in transporting the bulk of the harvests of the Barony to the Bethlehem mill for grinding, (the mill that was built at Christian's Spring in 1747 being of very limited capacity[1]) had in 1749 grown to be so grave, as to move their head men to take speedy steps for closing this drain upon their resources. The erection of a mill near at hand, fully appointed for the conversion into bread of all the grain grown on the three plantations, to wit: Nazareth, Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring, or "the upper places,"

[1] The lower story of the structure was a grist, and the upper a saw mill.

as they were called in the days of which we write from a Bethlehem standpoint,—was, very naturally forsooth, suggested as the readiest solution of the problem. Now to this solution the Brethren began to apply themselves on the 28th of October, 1749, as on that day, John Nitschmann[1] (a brother of Anna Nitschmann, the gifted daughter of old Nitschmann the wagonwright) and Henry Antes, both of Bethlehem, repaired to Nazareth to make a survey of the ground with an eye to the erection of a second mill. Failing to find a desirable site on the springs of the Menákes within the precincts of the Barony, they turned their footsteps eastward, and coming to the banks of this charming stream, which the Van Bogarts from Esopus named the *Bushkill*, and which the Scotch-Irish called *Lefevre's Creek* after Johannes Lefevre, whose meadows, distant a short mile to the south of us, were irrigated by its waters as early as 1745;—coming to this charming stream, Nitschmann and Antes, we read, selected this spot for the site of the projected improvement.

Now their choice involved the purchase of a parcel of 324 acres of land, which was held by William Allen of Philadelphia. It had been conveyed to Allen by Lawrence Growden, Jr., in August of 1740, and was a portion of a great tract of 5,000 acres which old Proprietor Penn granted by indenture bearing date October 25th, 1681, to Lawrence Growden, then of St. Austell in the County of Cornwall, and his heirs forever, under a yearly quit-rent of fifty English shillings,—and which the said Lawrence Growden was pleased to make over to his grandson the above Lawrence Growden, Jr., of the parish of St. Merryn, Cornwall, by indenture bearing date October 26th, 1687.

Negotiations with Mr. Allen for the purchase of this tract were finally concluded, when, on the 3d of January, 1750, he made deed of the 324 acres—"situate," as the instrument recites, "on the branches of Lehietan in the Forks of Delaware in Bucks County," to Henry Antes,—the consideration being £324 lawful money of

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[1] John Nitschmann was born in 1703, at Schönau, in Moravia. Immigrated to Herrnhut in 1723, where he became the private tutor of Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, whom he also accompanied to the University at Jena. In 1741 he was consecrated a Bishop, and came to America with a colony of 120 immigrants in 1749. Here he was President of the Directing Board until 1751, when he returned to Europe. Deceased at Zeyst, May 6, 1772.

the Province. In 1752, Mr. Antes conveyed the tract to the then three joint proprietors of the Moravian estates in this country. By these it was transmitted forward in the legitimate channel.

Having thus secured a site for a new plantation and mill, the Brethren, on the tenth day after the execution of Allen's deed, sent up five of their young men from Bethlehem to begin the clearing of the land. And soon the "chopping" bustled and grew warm with the hum of industry, although the mercury at times fell to zero. There was logging, grubbing, burning of grubs and hauling of stones from the quarries with ox-teams; and scarce was the frost out of the ground, when, on the 1st of April, Andrew Schober,[1] master mason in the Moravian Economy, arrived on the scene of action with a corps of "men-at-arms" and began to lay the foundation walls of the mill and farm-house. From the mother settlement there were sent bricks for the fire-places as well as joists for the flooring, which joists had been cut and sawed on the Mahoning. Auxiliaries, whenever needed, were drafted from the brotherhood at Christian's Spring; and thus efficiently seconded, Mr. Antes saw the work which had been entrusted to him, hastening, with reasonable dispatch, towards completion. The mill was of his planning, he being both a millwright and a miller of many years' experience. It was furthermore his last effort, in the capacity of an architect and master-builder, to aid the Moravians, as in the autumn of the year of which we write he severed his connection with that people, returning to his farm and mill on the Manatawny, in that beautiful region of country which stretches back from the present borough of Pottsgrove, Montgomery County.[2]

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[1] Andrew Schober, from Neuhofmansdorf, Moravia. Immigrated to Pennsylvania with the "Second Sea Congregation," 1743. Deceased at Bethlehem, July, 1792. Descendants of the name living in Philadelphia and North Carolina.

[2] Mr. Antes materially assisted the Moravians in the founding of Bethlehem, planned and superintended the construction of the first mills, aqueduct and ferry at that place; and built the mills at the Mahoning Mission and at Christian's Spring. In the autumn of 1752 he accompanied Bishop Spangenberg to aid and advise in locating a great tract of land in Western North Carolina for a projected Moravian settlement. Being one of the three proprietors of Moravian real estate in the Province, during the tenure of that estate by joint tenancy, his name is enrolled in the annals of our people alongside of the names of Joseph Spangenberg and David Nitschmann, the wagonwright. Antes died on his farm in July of 1755. Several of his children united with the Moravians. Ann Margaret, a

In the second week of August, 1750, the mill was completed and put in running order. It was located on the left bank of the creek, about one hundred yards north of the spot on which its successor now stands; was a substantial limestone structure with a frontage of 34 feet towards the south and a depth of 48 feet, and had four rooms.[1] It was furnished with an overshot water-wheel and one run of stones; the latter were cut by Peter May in his quarry on the Neshaminy and were delivered at the "Kill" at a cost of £9 10s currency. The mill-irons were wrought at the iron works of Messrs. Wm. Logan & Co., Durham.

The time being now come to festively inaugurate this so auspiciously finished piece of the millwright's handiwork on its career of promised usefulness to the race of bread-eating men, the twenty-first day of August was fixed as the day for a fitting demonstration. Its principal feature was a social repast or love-feast which was spread on the upper floor of the mill, and of which all who had contributed towards the mill's erection, partook. Bishop Cammerhof, who at this time was at the head of the Brethren's movement in North America, presided on the occasion. It was a joyous one for many reasons; none the less, we ween, as the rolls of wheaten flour which the happy feasters dipped into their generous coffee, were made from the *first grist* that was ground for the Moravians by the waters of the Bushkill. These rolls had been baked by Sister Antes, and were, typically speaking, immaculate. Thus then, was the new mill inaugurated on its career of usefulness, on the 21st of August, 1750.

The dwelling or farmhouse, meanwhile, was still in the hands of the carpenters, being in fact, not ready for occupancy until the Spring of 1751. It stood directly east of the mill, was built of logs, 32 by 20 feet, was two stories high, and had four apartments.[2]

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daughter, was the mother of the late B. H. Latrobe, C.E., of Baltimore, the architect of the Capitol at Washington. Catherine, in 1796, married Simon Snyder of Northumberland, the Governor of the Commonwealth between 1808 and 1817; John Henry, was sometime sheriff of Northumberland County, and John, the youngest son, went as a missionary to Abyssinia. While in Egypt, as is well known to readers of Moravian history, John Antes was rather roughly handled by some wandering Arabs.

[1] In 1758 the mill was valued at £800 P. C.

[2] In 1758 it was valued at £80 P. C.

A flaring frame barn and three annexes, one for the horses, one for the cows, and one for the sheep, with a total frontage of 88 feet towards the south and a depth of 30 feet, eventually flanked the dwelling on the east.

The Moravian enterprise at the "Kill" having lost its responsible head when Mr. Antes, early in the month of September, set out for his home, Abraham Miller of Gnadenthal was appointed to temporarily succeed him. Hereupon he was domiciled with Magdalena his wife in a room in the mill. His instructions were to keep a sharp eye on the workmen and to screen the infant plantation from the rude gaze of passing idle or impertinent curiosity.[1]

The custodianship of the Millers terminated on the 27*th of April* 1751, a date which marks an epoch in our narrative, as on that day the dwelling on the "Kill" was occupied, the settlement received the sweet name of *Friedensthal*, which, being interpreted, is the *Vale of Peace;* and the completion of a fifth improvement on their lands at Nazareth permitted the Moravians to congratulate themselves on their successive triumphs in an American wilderness.

From this memorable 27th of April, 1751, until the 1st of April, 1764, Friedensthal was an integral part of the great Moravian Economy; that institution or polity, under which our forefathers were pleased to live, as being well adapted to their straitened circumstances and likely to prove efficacious in holding the members of their brotherhood together by an almost indissoluble tie—without a tie of which character, there could be neither unity of action nor any reasonable hope of success in what they sought to accomplish. The Moravian Economies, (for there were several phases of them), have been variously understood by readers of Moravian history, and very erroneously by such as thought they found their parallel in the communistic movement of Fourier and later reformers of his school. The Moravians were not communists in the current acceptation of the term. Their settlements were not phal-

[1] Abraham Miller, prior to uniting with the Moravians, resided on Richland Manor in the Great Swamp, and was a Dunker or German Baptist. In April of 1752 he severed his connection with the Brethren and settled on a tract of land four miles south of their school-house in Dansbury or Lower Smithfield. Here, in April of the following year, while felling timber, he was killed by a falling tree.

ansteries. The members of their Economies voluntarily, and only after they had been made acquainted with their requirements, contributed the labor of their hands toward the furtherance of the religious enterprises of their Church,—nothing more; while the Church, in turn, obligated herself to provide these her workers with the necessaries of life,—nothing more. There was, therefore, no common treasury as among the primitive Christians; no appropriation of goods and chattels of the individual; no compulsion—no vows; and finally, no bar to the withdrawal of a member from a partnership, upon his signifying his reluctance to longer continue the reponsibilities which he had once felt free to assume.

On the morning of the 27th of April, 1751,—to take up anew the thread of this narrative,—there was quite a stir at the "Kill," as preparations were in progress toward welcoming the expected Brethren and Sisters who were to be housed in the now completed and furnished dwelling. At nine o'clock, the first arrivals, among which were the officials of Nazareth, Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring, were announced, and an hour later, arrived the little company of men and women for whom this day was a memorable one in the calendar of their lives. In the absence of Brother Cammerhof, who was confined to his room at Bethlehem by a malady which proved fatal on the day following this festive occasion, Brother John Nitschmann, his colleague, conducted a short religious service, introduced the future inhabitants of the settlement, named it *Friedensthal*, and finally pronounced it a dependency or "filial" of Nazareth.

The following were the four couples who were settled at the "Kill," and the first members of the newly organized branch of the great Moravian Economy, of which we are writing: John Wolfgang Michler and Rosina his wife; Rudolph Christi (now Crist) and Ann Mary his wife, with their infant son John Jacob; John Michael Mücke (now Micke) and Catharine his wife; and Matthew Krause and Christiana his wife. Michler was appointed chaplain of the household; the mill was given in charge of Christi, for whose convenience an apartment had been snugly fitted up in the mill building, aside of the great water-wheel which sang young John Jacob's lullaby many a time to the relief of dame Christi, as often as she was elbow-deep in domestic duties and could ill afford

to have her attention diverted to another channel; Mücke was appointed farmer, and Krause was given him as an assistant.[1]

In this way, then, was the Moravian Vale of Peace peopled; and being peopled, it unwittingly set about making history, the loose ends and fragments of which it has been the writer's endeavor to collect and weave into a coherent web.

The 324 acres of land on which the Moravians began Friedensthal, as we have seen, was an L shaped tract with the longer limb stretching eastwardly from the Barony some 390 rods—full 200

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[1] John Wolfgang Michler, a native of Würtemberg, a linen-weaver by trade, sailed in the "Little Strength" in the autumn of 1743, and was settled at Nazareth in 1744. He was ordained a deacon in 1762, and labored in the rural churches. Michler left descendants by sons and daughters. One of his sons was Nathaniel, proprietor of the Jacobsburg Inn, among the pines and scrub-oaks of Bushkill, as late as 1809—father of the late Hon. Peter S. Michler of Easton, father of Brevet Brig. Gen. Nathaniel Michler of the U. S Army.

Rudolph Christi, a native of Würtemberg, miller and farmer, sailed in the Osgood, Wm. Wilkie, master, in the autumn of 1750, and was residing at Bethlehem when he received his appointment to Friedensthal. He died at Gnadenthal in May of 1763. Christi left descendants by sons and daughters. One of his six children was John Jacob Crist, who became a resident of new Nazareth in 1772, dying at that place in April of 1805,—father of John Jacob Crist Jr., who died in the borough of Nazareth in November of 1862,—father of Wm. Crist and Richard Crist,—Richard Crist being father of Francis Crist.

John Michael Mücke, a native of Upper Silesia, a cooper by trade, sailed in the "Little Strength," and was settled at Nazareth. The last twenty-five years of his life were spent at Gnadenthal, where he died in 1786. Mücke left descendants through sons and daughters. He had four sons: Peter, John, Lewis and Matthew. Lewis died in 1837 at the residence of his son Lewis Jr., at Wardsburg or Tria, situated on the old "through-route" to the Wind Gap in Plainfield township. He reached the great age of 84 years, and is well remembered as having been a diligent knitter of men's mittens and hose in the evening of his life. Lewis Jr. reached the age of 84 years and died at Wardsburg, in 1871. He is best recalled by the name of "Squire Mücke," having held the scales of justice in Plainfield for a full half century. Lewis Jr., was the father of several sons, one of whom is John Micke, of Easton, merchant,—father of John W. Micke, of Easton.

Matthew Krause, a native of Silesia, husbandman, sailed in the "Little Strength," and was settled at Nazareth. Having been ordained a deacon, he was thereupon transferred to Bethabara, N. C., in 1755. There he died in 1762, and left descendants through sons and daughters. One of his sons was Matthew Krause, Jr., who died at Christian's Spring in 1808,—the father of John Samuel Krause, watchmaker and silversmith, who died at Bethlehem in 1815,—father of Matthew Krause, merchant, who died at Bethlehem, in 1865,—father of J. Samuel Krause of Bethlehem, merchant; and of Mary E., wife of Granville Henry of Boulton.

rods beyond the east branch of Bushkill. In the angle of this L were the lands of their next neighbor, Johannes Lefevre, of the Lefevres of Esopus. At his house Surveyor Scull and Wm. Parsons had headquarters, when in May of 1752 they began to lay out the town of Easton. The relations existent between the Moravians and the Huguenot were those of amity and peace; occasionally, however, interrupted, as for example, in July of 1759, when the latter was pleased to "dog" two of Friedensthal's swine to death; a lesson which farmer Hancke was instructed to improve in the right direction by looking well to his fences for the future.[1]

North of the Moravian tract stretched so called "Barrens," as yet vacant, and on the south lay two tracts held by that arch-speculator in Province territory hereabouts, His Honor Mr. Chief Justice Allen.[2]

Finally a tract of 315 acres, which backed up against the extreme easterly line of the Moravian L, was held and farmed in Indian fashion by the well-known Delaware chieftain Tátamy, the Pátamy of Loskiel, the Dádamy of Conrad Weiser, and the Moses Linda Tátamy of the Colonial Records.[3]

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[1] In 1774 the Lefevre tract was held in part, by John Van Etten, Lefevre having, as is said, removed with his family to South Carolina; and in part by Andrew Stocker. In 1785 Frederick Diehl held the bulk of the old farm, and subsequently, and (within the memory of some here present) the Searles, both father and son, surveyors. The Lefevre homestead, a double log-house, is well remembered by Ebenezer Searle, of Bath, surveyor.

[2] The "Barrens," as far as they touched the head line of the Moravian Tract, were held in 1774, in part by Robert Matthews and Peter Küchlein, and in 1785 by Martin Kindt, Peter Ehrich and George Stocker.

Andrew Stocker and Michael Stocker occupied a part of the Allen lands in 1776.

[3] Count Zinzendorf interviewed Tátamy on his plantation in July of 1742. When David Brainerd began his missionary labors in the Forks of Delaware, in the early Summer of 1744, he employed Tátamy in the capacity of interpreter, and in July of 1745 admitted him by the rite of baptism into the fellowship of the Christian church, naming him Moses. "He was well suited for the work of an interpreter" writes Brainerd, "in regard of his acquaintance with the Indian and English language, as well as with the manners of both nations." Writes Thomas Penn to Governor Hamilton in October of 1760: "I forget whether I ever mentioned that Tátamy took a patent for land in the Forks of Delaware several miles to the north of Easton. I suppose him to be the same Tátamy now employed in Province affairs, a circumstance which should be made use of to show his sense of his having purchased it. I believe it was with the privity of the Delaware Indians." In 1776 the Tátamy tract was held by George Stecher, next by John Stecher, and in 1855 in part by Valentine Werkheiser.

Tat's Gap, a pass over the Blue Hills at the head of Tat's Gap-road in Upper Mount Bethel, perpetuates the name of this dusky worthy of Provincial times. The east branch of Lehietan or Bush-kill, however, has lost its quondam name of Tátamy's Creek.

From the status of their neighborhood it will be rightly inferred that the Moravians of Friedensthal, at the beginning of their Economy had no reason to complain of being inconveniently crowded; in fact, such was not the case until years after the erection of Northampton County, in as far as their domain bordered on those undesirable 11,000 acres of land which the Proprietaries in 1737 had incorporated in their Manor of Fermor or the Dry-lands. This was the region of country which Count Zinzendorf, soon after his return to Germany, in a letter written to Spangenberg, pronounced waste, desert and worthless. The Moravians, in this sequestered corner of the "Forks," were in fact almost utterly cut off from the rest of the world, there being but one King's road by which they were directly linked to its din and turmoil,—to wit: the highway which led to the upper Ulster-Scot or Hunter's Settlement on Martin's Creek, in Lower Mount Bethel. In December of 1754, it is true, there was laid out by order of Court, a second King's road, "leading from Friedensthal past the Nazareth lime-kiln, below Christian's Spring saw-mill and brewery, to a certain place where the Brethren intend to build a saw-mill[1] on the western-most branch of Menákes on Nazareth land."

To Nazareth and Bethlehem, however, and not to the great world without, did the Friedensthalers look for fellowship, and hence their isolation was practically immaterial. There are those living who have heard the fathers tell of a footpath by which the residents on the "Kill" were wont to journey to Nazareth, whether on Sundays or holy days, on their way to the house of God at Ephrata or the Hall—or on week days on matters of secular business. This path led through the heart of a piece of noble woodland and then across great meadows, past limestone quarries and the site of the old Indian town, bringing you, after a charming half-hour's stroll, to the hospitable doors of the "great house on the hill." Many a time did Spangenberg, Boehler, Seidel, Graff, Lembke, Grubé and other worthies of the Church, pass and re-

[1] This mill was never erected.

pass by this sylvan walk in the discharge of their official duties; —perhaps to bring tidings from abroad with the latest instalment of "Periodical Accounts"– perhaps to announce a death in the brotherhood, or to look after the spiritual condition of the Friedensthalers; perchance to read them a homily or peradventure a fraternal lecture! And as for Bethlehem,—with it they were in close connection by way of the great King's road, leading "from the Bethlehem line N.N. E., quite to Nazareth 2840 perches," as was ordered by the Court of Quarter Sessions held at Newtown, in Bucks County, in March of 1745.

The members of the household rose *with* the lark,—(in winter *before* the lark) and having broken their fast on frugal fare, repaired, each to his daily toil. At 9 o'clock a bell that was hanging in the yard called them to lunch;—when the shadow of the index on the sun-dial at the mill marked the hour of twelve, they met for the noonday meal;—at two post meridiem, for a cup of coffee and bread or rolls,—and at sunset for the evening repast. A hard-working people they were! And the saying *ascribed* to them, which has come down to us as a tradition—"Wenn nur gegessen, geschafft *wär' bald,*" savors strongly of waggery.

Before proceeding to review the personal and local details of the Friedensthal Economy, it is in place to state, that its history embraces two periods;—a period in which the industries of peace, both at the mill and on the farm were pursued without molestation,—and a period of unrest, rife with rumors of war, when non-combatant members would fain have turned their plowshares and pruning-hooks into swords!—but could not. Who is there that would give to mill-life or farm-life one thought? Does not mill-life merely bring us face to face with that clannish people which loves to locate its strongholds in shadowy places on the border of some romantic stream, among willows and alders, through whose quivering foliage the sun-beams by day and the moon-beams by night flicker fitfully against the walls of the mill; a long square shouldered pile of logs or stone, with flaring gable and a peaked cock-loft,—whence dangles a rope like a hangman's—and at whose side there is hung a ponderous wheel, with its periphery humid and dark and green with slimy moss, which in summer rolls round slowly, and thoughtfully, and mournfully, as though life were a burden too grievous to be borne;—in winter, a huge motionless thing like some Arctic

giant in the repose of death,—its floats and buckets covered with frozen foam and splendent with ice-spears. As for the miller,—or the whole race of millers,—are they not the men who grow prematurely gray because of their sinning in the *article* of toll?—Are they not the men who hold fellowship with spiders which project geometrical diagrams into the nooks and corners of the dusty mill, not from a love for science, but to beguile innocent flies? Are they not,—Christians through they profess to be—priests of the mysteries of Ceres? Are they not the men who bob for eels in dark nights with dark lanterns—who catch the poor little fishes in brooks—who love the lazy hum of the waterfall and the kingfisher's rattle, and the very tremor and quiver of the floors under their feet, and all things strange and weird,—and who when not consulting the sun-dial or weathercock, or discerning the face of the heavens listlessly, with but half of their bodies visible to their fellow-creatures in the doorway over head, may be seen with great goggles riding a buhrstone by way of a hobby;--and who, when they steal silently out of their crazy and shaky old mills to mingle with the race of articulate men, look white all over, as if just arrived from the region of perpetual snow?

The Friedensthal mill, under the management of Brother Rudolph Christi and his successors, proved a valuable acquisition to "the upper places," and gladdened the hearts of the men of the Barony. It was also a convenience for the neighbors, and we read that for the year ending June 1, 1755, there was taken toll of grain as follows, to wit:

Toll of	wheat,	154	bushels,
"	rye,	185	"
"	buckwheat,	42	"
"	Indian corn,	37	"

The price of wheat at the time was 3s. 6d., or 47 cents, and that of the other cereals a proportionate figure. For the same year there were ground for the "upper places" and for Bethlehem, 631 bushels of wheat, 286 of rye, 87 of buckwheat and 76 of Indian corn.

In November of 1758 a second run of mill-stones, cut near Fort Allen, was added to the mill-works. The brethren who conducted this lucrative branch of industry, for the benefit of the Economy at Friedensthal, during Moravian Proprietorship, were the following; to wit:

Rudolph Christi, first on the rolls;—he dying, as we are disposed to believe, within a six months after entering upon his duties, was succeeded by

Hartmann Verdries, (1751–1756)—the same Hartmann who had been one of the first landlords of "The Crown," and who exchanged his position here, for that of host at "The Rose," in the late summer of 1756. Verdries was subsequently some time miller at Bethlehem. He died in Frederick Co., Maryland, in 1774.

Philip Transou, (Thirty-pence), a Palatine, (1756-1760), was our third miller. He had acquired the art of milling at Bethlehem, and pursued the same avocation at Lititz, Lancaster Co., on his removal to that settlement in April, 1762.

Hartmann Verdries took charge of the mill for a second time in 1760.

Harmanus Loesch, a son of John George and Phillippine Loesch and a native of Tulpehocken, which being interpreted is "*the land of the tortoise*," in old Berks, ran the mill between 1762 and 1765. In the last named year he was succeeded by

Daniel Oesterlein, a Würtemberger from the once imperial city of Ulm, and a *locksmith* by trade. But nevertheless, he administered the concerns of our mill acceptably for a full lunar year. Oesterlein and his wife Elizabeth, and infant son, together with the two Brandmiller's, were the sole inhabitants of Friedensthal, when, in the spring of 1767, it passed into the hands of a tenant. He died at old Nazareth, where he spent the remainder of his life, in 1768.

Harmanus Loesch succeeded Oesterlein, and ground the last grist with which the Moravians were concerned, on the 25th of March, 1771. The mill property then passed into the hands of strangers. He died at Bethlehem in 1791.

These, then, were the men who furnished the inhabitants of the Barony with the staff of life; the men who, like Joseph, when in the plenteous years the earth brought forth by handsful,--gathered, into the mill, corn as the sand of the sea, very much, until they left numbering,—for it was without number,—and who, when their Brethren cried for bread, opened the storehouse at the mill and filled their Brethren's sacks with food.

It behooves us, in the next place, to record the names, in their succession, of the men who furnished the members of the household at Friedensthal with spiritual sustenance.

Michler was succeeded in the Chaplaincy in the autumn of 1754 by

Brother *John Münster* of Zauchtenthal, Moravia, and Rosina, his wife.

Münster was succeeded by *Joseph Müller* and Verona his wife, —the same Müller, who, as we read in "A Red Rose from the Olden Time," periodically practiced minor surgery and the art of phlebotomy at that ancient Inn.

Müller was succeeded in 1758 by *John* and *Elizabeth Schneider*, both born Moravians, and Schneider in 1764 by *John Brandmiller* from Basel, and Mary his wife. This was the *last* clerical couple domiciled in the so-called "Gemein-haus" at Friedensthal. During Brandmiller's incumbency there was printed and published at Friedensthal, for the use of the American congregations, the edition of the standard collection of "Scripture Texts," prepared by the heads of the church in Saxony, for all its congregations and missions for the year 1767. The printing was done in Roman characters, —and probably with the press and type that had been forwarded to Bethlehem in the autumn of 1761, from the lumber-rooms of the Lindsey House, Chelsea, Kensington Division of the Hundred of Ossulstone, Middlesex, England,—where Zinzendorf and his fellow-helpers some time sat in high council, directing the world-wide movements of the Church, and giving audience to the ambassadors of the Great King, even from the ice-bound fiords of Greenland and the remotest Indies. What disciple of Faust and Gutenberg executed this *first specimen of the typographer's art done in Forks Township*, this deponent knoweth not.[1]

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[1] Since writing the above, *this deponent* has found a copy of the rare *libretto*, (an octavo of 60 pages), in the library of the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem, entitled "Die täglichen Loosungen der Brüder Gemeine für das Jahr 1767," and bearing the imprint: "Gedruckt *bey* Bethlehem in der Fork Dellawar, by Johann Brandmiller, MDCCLXVII." The head-piece on the first page is composed of heraldic charges and crests peculiar to the armory of the sovereigns of Great Britain, subsequent to the accession of James I—showing, among others, the fleur-de-lys, the crown, the Irish harp and the rose and thistle of the Tudors.

John Brandmiller was born on the 24th of November 1704, in Basel, of parents who were members of the Reformed Church. In his 14th year he was indentured to his uncle, a printer by trade—disliking the craft, and chafing under the close confinement to which he was subjected, the adventurous lad went out into the world to seek his fortune. A year of wandering, in the course of which he worked his way up the Rhine to Amsterdam, and bitter experiences, brought him at the ex-

We would justly subject ourselves to the charge of partiality for mills and millers, were we to pass over in silence the labors of those inmates of the Friedensthal Economy, who, as *tillers of the soil* and *herdsmen*, contributed very materially to its historic development. But here the reader must be cautioned against falling into a grave error, as he would inevitably do,—were he from premises of his own conception,—to conclude that when the Brethren purchased the Growden Tract, they designed to add *one* more to their *grain-growing* plantations. It was a mill-site they needed and not a farm; and when they came into possession of a desirable one, as we have seen, they very thoughtfully resolved to utilize the adjacent acres in what manner time and experience might demonstrate as most feasible. From divers specific surveys, drawn by that clever Moravian draftsman, George Wenzeslaus Golkowfsky, a native of Brobeck, Principality Teschen, Upper Silesia—(he immigrated in 1753, subsequently to 1762 was made bookkeeper-general for the Barony, with headquarters at Christian's Spring, and died at Nazareth in Dec. of 1813)—from divers surveys of "*old Gully*, as he was called by men still living—we learn that while the longer limit of the Moravian L on Bushkill was a plantation of scrub-oak—the very heart of the *Growden Tract* bristled with brush and sapling—and there was comparatively little *heavy timber*

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piration of that time, to reflection; and he turned his steps homeward. Having served out his apprenticeship, we find him subsequently, in the year 1735, settled in life and the head of a family in Basel. About this time he heard of the Brethren's movement, and in 1738 was induced to visit Herrnhut. The impression here made upon him, confirmed him in his resolution to unite with the Moravians, and on the following year he removed with his family to Herrnhaag, near Frankfort-on-the-Main. There he was admitted to church-fellowship. In 1741 he accompanied the first colony of Brethren to Pennsylvania, and after a six months sojourn in this country, sailed for the continent. With his wife he returned in 1743, settled at Bethlehem, and was appointed steward—he being the first to fill the stewardship at that place. In 1745 he was ordained a deacon of the Church. His appointments in the ministry were at Swatara, Allemängel, and Donegal successively. Occasionally he itinerated in the rural districts, after the manner of the Brethren of that day and traveled as an evangelist to the Walloons of New Pfaltz and Esopus on the Hudson, and the German settlers in Western Virginia. His last appointment was at Friedensthal. In 1768 he was recalled to Bethlehem and retired from active life. Thrice, he relates in his autobiography, he narrowly escaped death by drowning in the Rhine—and it was a singular coincidence that the lifeless body of the old Schweitzer should have been found in the mill-race at Bethlehem in the morning of August 16, 1777.

to indicate the presence of *fat land* underfoot. In May of 1757, a parcel of 134 acres resting on the headline of the first purchase and on the head line of the Barony, was added to our domain—it being patented to the Brethren by the Hon'ble, the Proprietors, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, by patent bearing date, May 21, of that year. This tract was known as the "Dam-Tract" not, (as some might erroneously suppose) because the soil was stubborn and perplexingly interwoven with grubs and scrub-oak—but because within its precincts, in the days of Henry Antes, the waters of the Bushkill were collected into a reservoir for feeding the mill-race. Thus Friedensthal territory was increased to 460 acres. At a later day, finally, there was added a very unsymmetrical parcel of 166 acres, which followed the serpentine windings of the Lehietan to the north of the "Dam-Tract;"—*nameless*, although, forsooth it wedged itself into the very heart of that region of cis-montane Northampton—which is designated most persistently by early surveyors as "*plains or barrens, covered with scrub-oak, up to the Blew Hills.*"

The prospect here, it must be confessed, was certainly a cheerless one (from the husbandman's point of view), and lest the men of Friedensthal should lose heart, there was given them a generous slice of baronial land, touching the Growden Tract on its southwest corner. These 40 acres constituted the "grain-farm" for Friedensthal during the time of its Economy. For the rest—there were fine stretches of made meadow along the Bushkill—and green swales in among the scrub-oak of the "Dam-Tract"—all of which were used in the grazing of cattle and the pasturing of sheep, branches of industry which were most profitably conducted. Yet the stout hearts and the strong hands of the Würtembergers had to contend with many an obstacle—before the acres began to bud and unfold as the rose, and before there grew up for them a vine and a fig-tree.

And these are the names of the Würtembergers and others with their wives, who dwelt here as tillers of the soil, as herdsmen, and as keepers of sheep:

John Stoll, (1751) with Anna, his wife, from Oettingen, *husbandman*, subsequently for many years saw-miller at Bethlehem and host of "The Crown," and the maternal grandfather of our late esteemed Bro. Andrew G. Kern.

Ludwig Stotz, a Würtemberger from Lauffen, *husbandman*, and Johanna, his wife.

Peter Götje (1754–1755) from Holstein, cordwainer, and Barbara, his wife. (Born 1716 at St. Margaretta, Holstein—died March, 1798.)

John Andrew Kremser, and Christina, his wife, sometime heads of the bureau of agriculture, and members of our Economy from 1753 to 1767;—outliving it, therefore, by three years, when in February of 1767 the old Silesian husbandman died in harness in the farm house. He was the father of *John Kremser*, the landlord of the Nazareth Inn, the second "Rose," in the last decade of the last century—and father of Charles Kremser of Bethlehem, cedar-cooper, now in his 78th year.

Matthew Hancke and Elizabeth, his wife, superintended the farm between 1756 and 1763. In 1764 we find the Hanckes settled at Gnadenthal. (Born 1707 in Upper Silesia, died January, 1785, at Nazareth.) Other members of the Friedensthal Economy, *husbandmen*, and *handicraftsmen*, in the interval between 1754 and 1764 were the following, to wit:

Peter Mordick, (1754) a Holsteiner, born 1716, died May, 1783, (at Nazareth,) and Magdalene, his wife.

Paul Fritsche, from Moravia, *carpenter*, and Rosina, his wife.

Matthew Witke, from Moravia, and Ann Mary, his wife.

George Crist, from Moravia, and Ann Mary, his wife.

George Volck, (1758) of the Volcks of Allemängel on the springs of Antelauna, in old Berks, but a native of Dürnstein, near the erst imperial city Worms, and

Tobias Demuth, a youth of sixteen summers, last from Allemängel. In January of 1764, our population were constituted as follows:

Chaplain, *Brandmiller;* miller, *Loesch*, wife and daughter Christina; assistant miller, *Oesterlein*, and wife; the two *Fritsches; Christian Werner*, a widower; *Jacob Rubel*, and *Catharine* his wife; *David Kuntz*, and *Mary Elizabeth*, his wife, and their infant son, *John David*.

It would be gratuitous, indeed, to enlarge upon the delights of farm life as it glided by in this "Vale of Peace." Are not the charms of that life immortal in the rhapsodies of Homer, and decked with the unfading flowers of song in the Doric pastorals of

Theocritus. And yet, for our forefathers here, *it was not purely idyllic.* There was much hard work to be done. There was the Tract at the Dam! There were gum-trees growing on its eastern margin, to be felled and riven for firewood, and curled maples on the banks of the Bushkill, whose timber was coveted by the gun-stock-maker over at the Spring. There was the sweat of the brow in the harvest field, as well as the song of the lark in the dewy meadow on a fine May morning. There were wrong headed young steers to be broken into docile "Bucks" and "Brights,"[1] and now and then the majestic bell-wether, just as he was about to lead the way for the flock into the fold at eventide, startled as it were by some unholy remembrance, would turn tail on the barn-yard and fly as if on the wings of the wind for the swales on the Tract at the Dam with his panic stricken wives and little ones at his heels.

It may delight the heart of the statistician to learn that the following items, bearing on the status of the Friedensthal farm, have at different periods been gleaned from the very highest authorities extant. In 1754 there were on the farm, of meadow, 13 acres—of arable land, 21 acres. Five acres of the latter were in rye, sowed at the rate of one bushel per acre—five acres in wheat, sowed at the same rate—one acre in barley, sowed at the rate of two bushels per acre—six acres in oats, sowed at the same rate—two acres in flax, sowed at the rate of two bushels of flax-seed per acre—two acres of buckwheat, sowed at the rate of one bushel per acre, and one and one half acres in turnips. The yield of the farm for the following year, (1755), was as follows:

Of hay,	8	loads;			
Of aftermath,	3	"			
Of wheat,	4	"	yielding	80½	bu. of grain;
Of barley,	1	"	"	27	"
Of oats,	5½	"	"	235	"
Of flaxseed, 5½ bushels;					
Of buckwheat, 17 bushels.					

On the 31st of December of the same year there were in their stalls in the great stable—4 milch cows; 27 head of young cattle, yearlings and three-year-olds—1 yoke of oxen, and 3 horses. For the year ending June 1, 1755, there were consumed at

[1] "*October* 15, 1752. Cash paid steward at Friedensthal for two Brethren who learned two oxen to go., £2." *Diaconate's Ledger*, D.

Friedensthal 194 gallons of Matthiessen's (born 1712, died at Nazareth 1796) beer, from the brewery at Christian's Spring—equivalent, it has been estimated by an expert, to fifty gallons of modern lager. This is but one of a number of similar records testifying to the habitual sobriety of its people.

The Tract at the Dam being well adapted for pasture and for naught else, it was customary to *summer* the Bethlehem flock, as well as the sheep kept at the "upper places," within its precincts. Thus it happened that there fell in the month of June annually, at Friedensthal, the festival of sheep-shearing—than which there was none more joyous in the agricultural calendar of the Barony. It was preceded by sheep-washing—and we are not far from the very spot, which a century ago, resounded with the wail of heart-broken ewes as they emerged with dripping fleeces from the pool, to gather to their sides the lambkins from whom, they had been for a time so cruelly separated. Now the shearing of sheep here was altogether done by female labor—chiefly by our great-grandmothers and their sisters contemporaneous of Bethlehem,—a custom of which their great-grand-daughters and sisters contemporaneous should be proud, in as far as it prevailed long, long ago—at least a hundred years before the era of weak backs and poor man's plasters!

In April of 1761 there were 140 lambs at Friedensthal—in June of 1762 there were 213 ewes, and of lambs a proportionate number. The yield of the farm for the year ending 31st of May, 1763, was valued at £43, currency; and finally, when on the 31st May, 1764, there was an assessment made of the effects of the Economy, the stock in the mill was rated at £14-1-1, and the stock on the farm at £172-16-3, currency.

Bidding a final adieu to these bucolic and pastoral scenes, we are now, in the right course of this narrative, brought face to face with that period in the history of Friedensthal which was rife with the rumors of savage warfare, and in which its *non-combatant* members would fain have turned their plow-shares and their pruning hooks into swords, but they could not! We have come to the times of the so-called "French and Indian War," in which there was brought, by an invisible foe, swift destruction upon the frontiers of the Province—confounding the wisdom of its law-givers—bringing to naught the councils of its rulers, and threatening, at one time, to wrest its noble domain from the Crown of England.

Whether aught else than the accumulated wrongs at the hands of the white man under which the Delawares and their cousins, the Shawanese, were chafing, spurred them on to take the hatchet and the war-path at the solicitation of French emissaries, may, perhaps, never be known. Braddock's defeat in July of 1755, was the prelude to the invasion of the unprotected frontiers—desultory, forsooth, in its character, but, none the less bloody, fatal and desolating. The settlement on John Penn's Creek below Sunbury, was sacked on the 18th October. The great cove on the Conecocheague shared the same fate on the 3rd of November; and two weeks later the camp fires of the savages blazed along the line of the Blue Hills from the Susquehanna to the Delaware. But when on the morning of the 25th November, intelligence of the destruction of the Gnadenhütten mission made men's hearts quail, the settlers of this part of the Province first realized that the enemy was at their door. Then followed in quick succession the affair at Hoeths[1] at the springs of Pocopoco, the attack on Brodhead's,[2] and the precipitate flight of the inhabitants of trans-montane Northampton, to the Moravian settlements on the Barony of Nazareth. They came like hound-driven sheep, a motley crowd of men, women and children,—Palatines, most of them, with uncouth names; some, as we read, "with clothes not fit to be seen of mankind;" and some with scarce a sufficiency of rags to cover their nakedness. So, on the 29th of January, 1756, there were 253 of these houseless refugees at Nazareth, 52 at Gnadenthal, 48 at Christian's Spring, 21 at "the Rose" and 75 here at Friedensthal. Of this number 226 were children. The winter of 1755–6 was not only the darkest in the annals of the Province, but also in the annals of American Moravian history. A flourishing mission had been irreparably ruined, involving a heavy pecuniary loss, and the loss of precious lives,—and it seemd at this crisis,—now that their plantations were become frontier-posts, as though the seal of doom had been set upon all their earthly hopes and aspirations. Brad-

[1] Frederick Hoeth, baker, from Zweibrücken. Immigrated in 1748, and is registered with his wife Johanette, among the members of the Philadelphia congregation in 1749. In 1750 he purchased 700 acres of land on the Pocopoco Creek, in Long Valley in Upper Northampton, now Monroe, Co., and removed thither with his family in 1752. He and his wife were surprised and killed by the Indians, December 10, 1755.

[2] The attack at Culver's near Brodheads.

dock's defeat failed to move the Proprietary government to a sense of the danger that was imminent, and so, when the Indians inaugurated their bloody orgies, they tomahawked, and scalped and burned as they listed. But in December of '55, at the eleventh hour, Governor Morris hastened to put the Province on a war-footing. Then it came to pass that the defence of the "back parts" of Northampton and Berks was committed to worthy hands. Hastily throwing aside the philosopher's gown, and donning the soldier's martial cloak, Franklin hurried hither to the scene of action, to run a new career. He was twice at Bethlehem; and, acquainting himself, while there, with the critical posture of the Moravian settlements, and cognizant of the importance to the Province at large of their integrity—made such disposition of the military under his command as to afford them some means of defence, if not to insure their safety.

Turning to the annals of Friedensthal Economy, we find the first arrival of fugitives chronicled on the 13th of December, '55 and special mention made of a poor Palatine who had barely escaped from the hands of the murdering savages near Hoeth's. It was late in the night when word was brought him that Hoeth's had been cut off. There was not a moment to be lost—and so, taking his helpless wife upon his shoulders, as she lay in bed (she had but lately given birth to an infant) he fled for his life. On the 21st a fugitive brought the report to the farm that the following night had been fixed upon by the Indians, for a simultaneous attack upon the five plantations on the Barony. Brother Nathaniel Seidel of Bethlehem, who, so to say, was in command at the "upper places" since the breaking out of hostilities, with his headquarters at Christian's Spring, thereupon took precautionary steps to avert a surprise, and, there being two companies of riflemen at Nazareth, he posted Lieut. Brown of Captain Sol. Jenning's command of Ulster-Scots, with 18 men, at Friedensthal. There was, however, no need of their presence,—or perhaps the enemy, aware of their presence, or seeing that they were foiled, desisted from their premeditated attack. It was a sad Christmas, forsooth, the Christmas of 1755, for the Christmas-loving Moravians—this dwelling in the midst of alarms in a horrible place. The sun of that memorable year went down in blood; and when a new sun rose in the morning of the 1st day of January, 1756, it was in a sky all lurid

and dun—hung with heavy clouds along the northern horizon. The savages were again holding high carnival. They sacked New Gnadenhütten, (Weissport),—invaded the plains adjacent to the Barony —and overran the foot of the mountain between the Lehigh and the Delaware. Ascending columns of smoke marked the progress of the destroyers. It was now that there was a new influx of fugitives into the "upper places," and the second week of January there were in the Friedensthal mill—seventy-five pitiful objects, men, women and children, to wit:

George Minier, wife and seven children.
Philip Bossert, wife and seven children.
Jacob Stechert, wife and seven children.
Michael Köster, wife and five children.
Adam Engler, wife and four children.
Leonard Beyer, wife and four children.
William Lerch, wife and three children.
Peter Schaefer, wife and three children.
Martin Kindt, wife and three children.
Frederic Ziegler, wife and two children.
William Stuber, wife and two children.
Hans Michel Walcker, wife and two children.

George Webb and Magdalene his wife, she being the relict of *Bro. Abraham Miller*—the same who, as we have seen, was the custodian of the improvements on the Kill, and whose fate has been heretofore related.[1]

On the 6th of January, Bro. Seidel agreed with four refugees at Friedensthal, to watch for the coming month at that place—at the rate of £1-4-9, for the four per week, and food and lodging. The names of these guardians (thanks to the recorder), are Michael Büttler, John Büttler, Jacob Engler and John Schutterling. There were additional outlays for hired help of this kind at the Economy, in the course of this eventful year 1756.

[1] Some of these refugees returned to their homes after a few days sojourn—others were remaining at the mill, far into the month of May. During their stay provision was made by the Moravians not only for their temporal, but also for their spiritual wants—they met for worship in the mill—such as were able assisted in the labors of the farm. Finally they were also recipients of the charitable offerings forwarded to Bethlehem, by the members of the "Friendly Association" in Philadelphia.

On the 15th of January a company of refugees at Bethlehem set out for the mountains, to look after their farms and cattle. Among them was Christian Boemper, a son of Abraham Boemper, of Bethlehem, silversmith, and son-in-law of Frederic Hoeth—and Adam Hold, his servant, a Redemptioner. The party, and some soldiers who escorted them, fell into the hands of the Indians, near Schupp's mill, Hold alone escaping, with a severe fleshwound in the arm, which eventually cost him the loss of that limb.[1] The killed, according to Capt. Trump, were Christian Boemper, Felty Hold, Michael Hold, Laurence Kunckle, and four privates of his company, then stationed at Fort Hamilton, (Stroudsburgh). Andrew Kremser, in a letter, dated Friedensthal, January 22d, alludes to this sad affair, and gives us also additional information of great interest in the following words: "Yesterday there came to us three men from the mountain, whose parents are here with us. They report that the bodies of the eight were found, and buried by the soldiers. Christian Boemper's body was stripped quite naked—of Culver they knew nothing. Our dogs make a great noise every night 'till 12 o'clock, and run towards the island, which is very bushy; and not without ground, I am inclined to suspect."

We glean from the Penn'a Gazette—one Mülhausen, a Palatine, while breaking flax on the farm of Philip Bossert in Lower Smithfield, was shot through the body by an unseen Indian, receiving a wound, which, it was feared, would prove mortal. One of Bossert's sons running out of the house on the report of the gun, was shot by the enemy in several places, and soon died. Hereupon old Philip appeared on the scene of action, and exchanged shots with one of the attacking party, striking him in the small of the back, a reception

[1] John Adam Hold was a native of Hanau, on the French border, where he was born in September of 1737. After the affair at Schupp's mill, the wounded man was taken to Bethlehem, where, on the 29th of January, the arm was amputated by Dr. John M. Otto. Here he was admitted to the Brethren's house, was a member of their Economy eleven years, and in January of 1767, removed to Christian's Spring. There he died in 1802. Despite the loss of his left arm, Hold in time became an expert axeman, and he is known as the man who cut down the thickest tree in the *Weissthal*, on the Barony. The late *Bro. Samuel Reinke* told the writer that he had a very vivid recollection of Adam Hold—that he was a short, thickset old man, and that whenever he came from the Spring to Nazareth, he was accompanied by two large dogs.

that sent the savage off "howling." He himself, however, received a fleshwound in the arm. At this juncture some of Bossert's neighbors came to the rescue, and the five remaining Indians (for there had been a war-party of six) made off. Mülhausen was taken to the Friedensthal mill, where he received surgical treatment at the hands of Dr. Otto,[1] whose professional services were in great demand at this time, far beyond the Moravian horizon. But the poor man was beyond help, and on the 3d of March he breathed his last. The burial service of our church was read over the remains, by Brother Graff, as they lay in the mill—and there upon they were removed by the widow, for interment in a neighboring graveyard.

The Moravians of olden times, as a people, it is well known, conscientiously scrupled bearing arms—and in an Act of Parliament, entitled "An Act for encouraging the people known by the name of Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren to settle in his Majesty's Colonies in America," passed at Westminster, on the 10th day of March, 1748, in the reign of the second George—they were conditionally exempted from doing military service in any of his Majesty's Colonies or Provinces in that hemisphere. But they were far from scrupling to defend themselves against the violence of wicked men. Franklin forsooth, when on his way from Bethlehem to Fort Allen to discharge an old rusty swivel or two, that he had planted on that maiden fortification of his, by way of Leyden jars, comments in accordance with the bent of his philosophical mind on the posture of our forefathers, after the following manner: "I mentioned my surprise to Bishop Spangenberg at finding the brethren who kept watch, armed, knowing that they have obtained an Act of Parliament, exempting them from military duty,—and I thought to myself, in face of facts, that they had either deceived themselves or Parliament." Be this as it may, the commander-in chief at the "upper places" called a council of war at Friedensthal on the 9th of

[1] John Matthew Otto was born in Meiningen, 9th November, 1714. Studied medicine and surgery at Augsburg. Immigrated to Pennsylvania and arrived at Bethlehem in July of 1750. For thirty-six years he was physician and surgeon of the Brethren's settlements. On 17th September, 1753, he married Joanna Sophia Magdalene Dressler. She dying 20th February, 1776, he was married a second time, 28th October, 1778, to Maria Magdalen Schmidt. The daughter of his son, Joseph Otto, married Dr. H. B. Smith of Nazareth, the father of Rev. Henry I. Schmidt, Gebhard Professor in Columbia College, New York, and of Edward Otto Smith, merchant, of Philadelphia. Dr. Otto died at Bethlehem, 9th August, 1785.

March, at which it was resolved to stand vigilantly on the defensive, and to stockade the place. As there was no time to lose, timber for the piles was commenced to be felled on the third day after the council,—and before the expiration of the month, the Friedensthalers, with the assistance of the young men of Christian's Spring, had completed the work. It enclosed the mill, the dwelling, the barn and the stabling over the way. Commissary General of ye musters, James Young, has left us a description of this piece of Moravian engineering—though, forsooth, he treats it rather cavalierly, we ween, when he writes in his report to Gov. Morris, under date of June 25, briefly, as follows: "It is a large but slight stockade about 400 feet one way, and 250 the other, with log houses at the corners for bastions." Whether this rude fortification was retained as long as those at Nazareth and Gnadenthal, is very questionable.

Among the refugees domiciled in the Whitefield House, at Nazareth, at this date, there was a family of Culvers, to wit: Ephraim, the father; Elizabeth, his wife; Ephraim Jr., and four daughters. They had been for years attached to the Moravian domestic mission in Lower Smithfield, to which township they had moved in 1751, and when on the invasion of that township in the second week of December last, prudence became the better part of valor, the Culvers fled. It was a narrow escape for the miller and his family—as, on looking back, when but a few miles on their flight, they saw both mill and dwelling wrapped in flames. It being well known to the Brethren, that Satan finds work for idle hands to do, young Ephraim Culver was put to "miller Verdries." Thus our little Economy received an increase in its population of one. But, in 1769, we find this Culver at Bethlehem, occupying, as baker, the large stone house in which the late John F. Wolle conducted a store for the benefit of the Moravian Society.

We have thus rehearsed the most trying period for the Brethren, in the course of the so-called "French and Indian War," which was protracted into the spring of 1758.

It may here be stated that on the 24th August, 1756, the shingled roof of the dwelling in Friedensthal took fire from sparks from the bake-oven, and had not Lefevre's people lent helping hands, it was thought that the entire settlement would have been laid in ashes.

While visiting in the spring of 1871, at the house of the venerable Philip Boerstler, whose farm lies a short mile west from here, the writer learned the following tradition, which has been preserved in the Boerstler family from the days of the grandfather, John Boerstler, only son of Jacob Boerstler, who immigrated from the Palatinate in 1724—settled in Oley and there in 1727 married Catharine Peter. It relates to these turbulent times. Pointing in the direction of the lowland which stretches out to the south of his farm—and which in the earliest surveys of the Barony, in the surveys of *Reuter* and *Golkowfsky* is called "The Long Meadow" or "The Meadows," *par excellence*,—pointing thither as we were taking a cooling draught from the "Indian Spring," near his doorway, "There," said Philip, "at the base of that limestone ridge which bounds the meadows on the south, ran a trail between old Nazareth and Friedensthal—and on that trail, one of our ministering brethren, in the times of the Indian war, escaped with his life from the deadly aim of an Indian's rifle as by a miracle. It was the custom of our brethren to make the tour of the settlements on the tract—dispensing words of cheer or ghostly comfort to men whose hearts were failing them amid the harrowing uncertainties in which they lived. Thrice had the passing evangelist been marked by the lurking savage in his covert on the ridge, and thrice did the painted brave pass his fingers across the notches in his tally, which reminded him that there was but one scalp lacking of the needed twelve, to insure him a captainship in his clan. The love of glory fired the dusky warrior's bosom, but he hesitated to perpetrate the foul deed, for in his intended victim he recognized the man whom he had once heard speaking words of peace and mercy and forgiveness, in the turreted little chapel on the Mahoning. But when the coveted prize was within his view for the fourth time, casting from him the remembrance of better things, and calling upon the Evil Spirit to smite him a paralytic, should he quail in taking aim, the frenzied Delaware drew a deadly bead upon our brother, and almost saw himself a chieftain—when lo! his rifle fell to the earth, and the brawny limbs and the keen sight lost their cunning for those of an impotent." "And what was the subsequent fate of this so marvellously thwarted savage?" I asked. "He became a convert," replied Philip, "and a helper at the mission." "And did you

learn the evangelist's name?" I questioned—said Philip, "Fries, or Grube, I believe."[1]

The precautions which, as we have seen, were taken to secure Friedensthal against a surprise from the "enemy Indians," as they are called in the old records, were only intermitted toward the close of 1757. There were repeated alarms and rumors—and then serious apprehensions that there would be a repetition of the barbaric horrors of the winter of 1755–56. In the third week of March, 1757, the stewards of the "upper places" were cautioned to keep vigilant watch—to reset the shutters on the houses, and to secure the gates of the pallisades with strong fastenings. About the same time Warden Schropp,[2] on learning that the setting of the watches might no longer be done without the Governor's special leave, petitioned his Honor, Gov. Denny, to sanction the appointment of our miller "Thirty Pence," to be overseer of the watch at the Friedensthal plantation.[3] There was certainly need of this new care—for on the 24th March,

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[1] The following stanza from a rhythmical narrative of the event that occurred at Nazareth during the month of November, 1756—lends credence to the substance of this piece of tradition of the olden ime.

"Der Feind schwärmt täglich um uns 'rum,
Und wollt uns überfallen;
Der Arm wurd ihm in Schiessen stumm,
S'Gewehr musst abwärts fallen."

[2] Matthew Schropp from Kaufbeuren, circle of Swabia, Bavaria, and Ann Mary, m. n., Thomet his wife; immigrated with the "Second Sea Congregation" in 1743. He was ordained a Deacon in 1748. Warden at Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Bethabara, N. C., where he deceased in 1767. Descendants are numerous—most of those now present through a daughter married in 1781 to William Henry of Lancaster, then settled at Nazareth.

[3] "But being sensible that this cannot be done regularly without the Governor's special leave, or rather his orders. We hereby request your Honor to authorize the said Watch under your Hand and Seal, and to appoint George Klein and Johann Ortlieb, in Bethlehem; Godfried Schwarz, in Christiansbrunn Plantation; Abraham Hessler, in Gnadenthal Plantation; Nicholas Shaffer, in Nazareth Plantation; and Philip Transue, in Friedensthal Plantation, overseers of the said Watch, and Henry Frey to be chief overseer of the Watches in the four last above mentioned Plantations &c."

"By the Hon'ble Wm. Denny, Esqr. Lt. Gov'r. Capt. Gen'l, and Com't in Chief of ye Province of Penn'a and Co'tes of N., K. and S., upon Delaware.

"To George Klein and John Ortlieb, of Bethlehem, in ye Co'ty of Northampton, Greeting:

"WHEREAS.—Ye Moravian Brethren, seated within ye Forks of Delaware, have by their address of ye 14th of this Ins'., March, represented to me y't in ye time of ye late Ravages, Murders and Devastations committed by ye Indians upon Inhabitants in ye back parts of this Prov., they ye s'd Moravian Brethren, were obliged for their Defence and Safety of themselves and many of their neighbors, who resorted thither for y't purpose, to fortify and secure the several of their settlem't w'th Stocadoes, and to place and to keep therein Military Watches; and

David Heckewelder,[1] father of John Heckewelder, missionary to

being desirous to continue ye same till the apprehensions of further Mischief from ye s'd Indians and our declared enemies ye French are over, they have humbly besought me to grant my Commission (amongst others) to you, ye s'd Geo. Klein and John Ortlieb, to be Overseers or Captains of ye Military Watch, w'ch the said Brethren propose, at their own expense, to continue to keep at Bethlehem af'd; and I having, with ye Provincial Council, taken into consideration the necessity, utility and advantage of such a Military Watch for ye safety, protection and Defence, as well ye s'd Moravian Brethren as other ye Inhabitants of y't part of ye Prov.; and Reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Ability, Loyalty, Courage and Fidelity, I have, and by these presents in witness of ye powers in ye behalf to act, do constitute, authorize and appoint you ye s'd Geo. Klein and John Ortlieb, to be ye Captains or Overseers, jointly, or either of you, severally, of ye Military Watch, to be kept and continued by ye s'd Brethren at Bethlehem, af'd; Giving and hereby Granting, as well unto you, ye s'd Cap'ns or Overseers, as to ye rest of s'd Military Watch, full power and authority to take and use arms, and by force of arms to repel, pursue, apprehend, size, take, hold and destroy all such Indian and enemies who shall commit or attempt to commit any hostilities within this Prov.

"And you are, by all opportunities and means in your power, to gain all ye Intelligence you can of ye motions, strength and designs of any Indian or other Enemies who shall appear in your part of ye prov., and upon obtaining any such material Intelligence, immediately to send me full information thereof, from time to time, this Commission to continue.

"Have appointed and Commissionated ye following persons to be Capt'ns or overseers of ye watches to be kept and continued in ye respective places herein after stated, that is to say, Godfried Schwarz, at Christian Brunn plant'n, Abram Hessler, at Gnadenthal plant'n, Nich's Schaffer, at Nazareth plant'n, and Philip Trentsou, at Friedensthal plant'n, and Trust and confide in your Ability, Loyalty, Courage and Fidelity, and judging you fitly qualified for ye purpose, Have and by these pr'ts do in virtue of ye power in ye behalf to me given, hereby constitute, authorize and appoint you ye s'd Henry Frey to be Chief Capt'n or overseer for ye superintending and better ordering of ye Military Watches at ye s'd Several plant'ns of Christian Brunn, Gnadenthal, Nazareth, Friedensthal, And ye s'd watches and Capt'n thereof are hereby required to be subordinate to and strictly to observe and obey your orders and directions in ye premises, giving full power and authority to take, seize armes with ye assistance of ye s'd Military watches or any of you, by force of armes to repel.

"As you are carefully to obey and observe my Orders and Instructions from time to time, and those of ye Gov't and Com't in Chief of ye s'd Prov. for ye time being.

"Giving, &c.

"6 Separate Commissions, to wit:

"Ist to George Klein and John Ortlieb. } for Bethlehem.

"2d to Godfried Schwarz, in Christian's Brunn.

"3d to Abram Hessler in Gnadenthal.

"4th to Nicholas Shaffer in Nazareth.

"5th to Philip Trentsou in Friedensthal.

"6th to Henry Frey, to be Chief Captain or overseer of Christian's Brunn, Gnadenthal, Nazareth and Friedensthal."

In June of 1756 Captain Inslee, Ensign Inslee and twenty-four men were stationed in the Mill.

[1] David Heckewelder, a native of Moravia, whence he emigrated to Herrnhut. Labored in the service of his church in Bedfordshire and Yorkshire, England, in the interval between 1742 and 1754. Together with his wife and children, he sailed for Pennsylvania in March, and arrived at Bethlehem in April of 1754. In 1759 he was called to enter the Moravian Mission on St. Thomas, W. I. He died on the island of St John in 1760.

the Delawares, who was residing in an apartment in Nazareth Hall (then not fully completed) reported that he had found, not a stone's throw from the house, suspended from a sapling in the woods, an Indian token wrought from swan's feathers—a token such as served to mark the chosen site of a rendezvous for warriors, when about to strike a blow.

In April the savages were again at work in the townships of Lehigh and Allen. "We are in the utmost consternation and confusion, and expect daily to be murdered by the Indians"—is the burden of the petition for military protection, presented to the Governor in behalf of these harrassed townships, by Frederic Altemus, James Kennedy and others. And so it came to pass, that in the first week of May, our mill was once more filled with fugitives. It was one of this number who brought the sad intelligence that Webb's place had been burned last Sunday by some Indians led on by a Frenchman. Webb's wife, Abraham Miller's widow, and her son Abraham, were taken prisoners. This statement was confirmed a few weeks later by the lad, who had effected his escape. Under date of 22d August, of the year we are reviewing, Warden Schropp reported to the Governor: "In Friedensthal mill they all have arms, and are constantly on the guard and watch by turns." This was no more than three weeks before the high-handed outrage perpetrated by some of Tadeuskund's subjects up at Keller's in Plainfield, where, one day while Joseph Keller was plowing for a neighbor, there came a war party of Delawares, entered Keller's castle, laid hands on his wife and three sons—but considerately enough, left a babe in the cradle untouched, the little thing being, doubtless, deemed by them unavailable property, under the circumstances.

Subsequently to this, no event, to our knowledge, occurred on the borders of the Barony, which was calculated to fill its inhabitants with dread of Indian forays, for the immediate present.

A spirit of lawlessness, however, it would appear, seized hold of others than Indians during the prevalence of the protracted war, or rather, succession of marauds which we have been considering. They became demoralized—as the saying is—and some of the demoralized neighbors of the Moravians were moved, in August of 1756, to invade and sack the orchards of that industrious

people. Now by these orchards, stocked as they were with the choicest grafts—grafts of "early harvest," of the "summer greening," and of "spitzenbergers," both red and white,—our forefathers laid great store--as on their yield they depended altogether for their winter's supply of dried fruit, and conserves of apples,—now the latter was locally called "apple-butter,"—probably because of its proving an economical and yet appetizing substitute for the "Goshen" of those days—prime Goshen was made at Christian's Spring—and this apple-butter was stored away in earthen crocks, as capacious almost, as the oil-jars of the treacherous guest of Ali Baba—and then entrusted to the "master of the cellar" (Kellermeister), for safe keeping. But when the crop of apples on the Barony was in a fair way of failing in consequence of these inroads on the orchard, there was posted a word of caution to the trespassers in the Friedensthal mill, as well as in the smithy at the Spring and in "The Rose." You may read it, *verbatim et literatim* in the volume of the chronicle entitled "A Red Rose from the Olden Time."

What mishap befell the bell that from the first rung out its summons for the Friedensthalers, we have failed to learn—and the "reminder" thrown out by its presiding officer in the course of the sessions of a little council held at Nazareth on the 15th of September, to wit: "The bell at the nursery needs looking after, lest it share the fate of the Friedensthal bell," remains an unsealed riddle for this deponent, even unto the present day.

Friedensthal received a respectable accession to its population (which, by the way, exceeded a baker's dozen) in May of 1758. Three families of Delawares, sixteen souls all told, were permitted to plant on its domain. Bishop Spangenberg tells us who they were in a "List of Indians," with remarks appended, which he prepared for George Croghan in September following. "They were Indians of Tadeuskund's party who came in from the Susquehanna country after Gov. Morris's proclamation of a cessation of arms. The Commissioners providing for them, they were located here as neutrals, and all the time while they lived by Bethlehem, in Saucon Township, where the Tavern is, gave us unspeakable trouble. We applied to the Governor, to the Assembly, and to the Commissioners to have them removed—for we did not like these guests—but in vain. At last in the spring, they returned to the

Susquehanna, and then Nicodemus, Zaccheus, Nathaniel and Jonathan begged a little piece of land to plant, which we gave them at Nazareth and Friedensthal." These vagrants were tolerated on their lands by the Brethren till the time of the fall-hunt. Meanwhile there was light work given them to do on the farm, and Chaplain Grubé of Gnadenthal, ministered to them weekly in things spiritual, for they had been instructed in the tenets of the Christian religion at the Gnadenhuetten mission.

Full four years of tranquility passed, and we have come, in the course of this history, to the summer of the year 1763, the summer of that memorable year, in which the Indian people of the then western country conspired under Pontiac, the Ottawa, in a mighty effort to reclaim their ancestral seats from the English, and drive the hated intruders into the waters of the great Salt Lake. This movement on the part of their western brethren, awakened memories of old wrongs in the bosoms of the Indians east of the Alleghanies—and they unburied the hatchet. It was feared that the horrors of the autumn of 1755 would be re-enacted. Isolated settlements along the frontiers again became the scene of barbarities—and when it was learned that the enemy was marauding on the south side of the Blue Mountains, the Moravians in Northampton trembled for the safety of their homes. It was indeed a critical time. The pallisades were reset around the houses of their women and children, and on their farms guards were set, and guard-houses built—and old cutlasses and blunderbusses furbished up, and no preparation neglected that might insure a successful repulse of the dreaded invaders. Once more, and for the last time in its history, the inhabitants of this peaceful vale, girded on baldric and sword and took buckler, for the defence of their firesides. The mill-wheel stood motionless—the long rope dangled listlessly from the cockloft—the click of the shuttle in the weaver's room was mute, and the cobbler's lapstone gathered moss as it lay neglected under his leather-seated bench! In the first week of October fell that well-concerted maraud into Northampton,[1] in which a war-party of Delawares struck a quick but fatal blow at Stenton's in Allen township, killing and wounding eight persons. Plundering Andrew Hazlitt's farm-house, and tomahawking his

[1] See "Brief Account of Murders by the Indians and the Cause thereof, in Northampton Co., Pa., Oct. 8, 1763," by Jos. J. Mickley, Philadelphia, 1875.

wife and two children, they fired old Philip Kratzer's barn, waded the Lehigh at the so-called "Indian Falls" above Siegfried's Bridge, and in Egypt of Whitehall, murdered and burned at Mickley's, Schneider's and Marx's. There were twelve in the party, says "old Schneider," who saw them cross the river at the Falls, from the roof of the house he was shingling that October morning.

An influx of fugitives into the Moravian settlements followed this bold foray, and on the 9th of October, the Friedensthal mill was crowded with Ulster-Scots from Allen and Lehigh. But the threatened storm blew harmlessly over, and before the expiration of the month, our brethren here met in their chapel for the giving of thanks to their Divine protector for deliverance from death.[1]

We are drawing towards the close of this history. In the spring of 1762, the social and financial tie which had bound the Moravians in this country in one body politic for full twenty years, was abrogated by the so-called General Economy. This measure involved important changes, and marks an epochal point in the history of our people, in as far as they were then put into a condition to prepare themselves for progress in new directions. This change of the General Economy was, in fact, the first stepping-stone in the passage toward the shore of New Moravianism, on which we stand. But in order, so to say, to temper the wind to the shorn lamb, or lessen the rude shock that would be the inevitable concomitant of so radical a change, the Commissioners who had been appointed to effect it, saw fit to sanction the establishment of separate Economies at Bethlehem, Nazareth, Christian's Spring and Friedensthal. These continued for a longer or shorter period of time.

That at Friedensthal dissolved in March of 1764. Its dissolution, however, brought with it no material change of inhabitants. When, in the summer of 1766, however, it was found that the maintenance of the farm under existing circumstances was a source of financial loss to the Church, the Brethren looked round for a tenant. They found one in *Dorst Alleman*, a native of the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, but prior to 1761, settled in Lancaster Co., and attached to the Moravian settlement Hebron on the Quitope-

[1] One item more for the man of statistics. In an assessment of Moravian property made in May of 1763, the Friedensthal mill is valued at £800 currency, and the dwelling, barns and stalls together, at £475. (Ledger E, Beth. Diac.)

hille (just without the limits of the present Borough of Lebanon). Having covenanted with the Brethren to take the farm on "thirds," and having purchased the stock, to wit: horses, cattle and swine, valued at £71-17—Grain in the bin valued at £23-8-2, and the standing crops, both summer and winter, valued at £28-14-6, Alleman and Verona, his wife, occupied the farm house on the 30th March, 1767. Ten days before, Chaplain Brandmiller vacated his apartments, and on the 11th April, the Oesterleins followed him. Loesch, however, remained at the mill, and conducted its affairs for the Brethren, until the Spring of 1771.

On the 20th April of that year "the 500 acres of land at Nazareth, called Friedensthal," so we read, "including the farm-buildings and mill, were sold by Nathaniel Seidel, Proprietor, to one Samuel Huber of Warwick township, Lancaster County, for the sum of £2,000, Penna. Currency." And so the Vale of Peace passed into the hands of strangers.

These are the brief chronicles of Friedensthal and its stockaded mill. Had the writer's lot been cast among the men who lived in the first decade of our century—men who delighted to tell of the olden time—had he been privileged to interrogate, among others, Knottel Kaske of Ephrata, and Berg Kaske of Schneppenthal, as, with fellows of like kidney, they sat sipping cordial of anise and carraway at Balzer Vognitz's over at the springs—had he been permitted to ransack that grotesque and arabesque pile of buildings at "old Nazareth," into which, so to say, as into the lumber-room of some baronial hall, there was thrown the cast-away furniture of the Moravian Economy—ancient men and women of diverse nationalities and races and tongues—diminutive men in black velvet skullcaps, and dressed in livery of sober brown, reticent excepting touching the matter of the olden time, whose footsteps were noiseless as they forever paced the dingy corridors—their arms behind them, with the air of men hopelessly striving to solve a problem—being devoid of relish for the pleasures of this world save the drinking of coffee and the smoking of tobacco from long-shanked pipes;—diminutive women, robed in short gowns of homespun and with bald caps of the whitest muslin, who flitted noiselessly to and fro, and who, when not spinning or knitting, gathered in the corridors to brew coffee in quaint-looking braziers—women who were reticent except touching the matter of the olden time,—negroes and

negresses, natives of Congo and Dahomy,—some of whom remembered the festivities attendant upon the coronation of the second George—who spoke the German of Lusatia, and wondered how they had come hither—some of the blood-royal in the land of the oil-palm and gold, around whose gray heads there hovered an ineffable nimbus, as they joined in the songs of their adopted Zion, —and who were reticent, save touching the matter of the olden time—had the writer, or *some antiquary*, been privileged to ransack the lumber-rooms of that grotesque and arabesque pile, verily, he believes there would have been no end to the writing of this book of the chronicles of the stockaded mill.

In the course of a visit to Nazareth in May of 1871, I felt an irresistible drawing to this place, it having been one of the scenes of my boyhood's life at school, forty years ago. It was on that occasion that I learned the following facts, which may serve as a sequel to my history.

The present mill was built in 1794, by Jacob Eyerle, of Nazareth, a son of Jacob Eyerle, a native of Würtemberg, blacksmith, who immigrated in 1753. In —— it was sold by Anna Maria Hancke, the administratrix *de bonis non* of Jacob Eyerle the younger, to Joel Weiss. Weiss renovated and converted into a dwelling, the old stone mill. He dying, the mill and adjacent lands were sold by his executors to Abraham Heller and Philip Correll. Some thirty years ago, Heller sold the mill to Clewell and Albright, by whom it was demolished, its stones and timbers transported to Stockertown, and then built up into a mill, long known as Woodring's mill. That mill took fire and burned down in 1866. Isaac Ackerman bought the mill-property here, from Joseph and Edward Heller, sons of Abraham Heller. Ackerman sold it to George Spier. Spier sold it to Charles Mann, who occupies it at the date of this writing.[1]

AUGUST, 1875.

[1] Information from Peter Heller, aged 50, a son of Abraham Heller, who assisted at the demolition of the old Moravian Mill.

NAZARETH AND THE REVOLUTION,

AN ADDRESS

BY PRESIDENT JAMES HENRY,

at the Annual Meeting of the Moravian Historical Society,
September 26th, 1877.

Fellow Members of the Moravian Historical Society:—In opening the proceedings of this year's Vesper, I take melancholy pleasure in adverting to the loss we have sustained in the departure from the scenes in which we remain actors, of our late Brethren, William C. Reichel and Edward H. Reichel. The former, as we are all willing to acknowledge, constituted our historian, par excellence, and during the last twenty years of his intellectual activity, in which he figured as historian, antiquarian, poetical prosaist in the department of delightful reminiscences and traditions of the olden time, he produced greater results than any other writer who ever bore the name of Moravian.

To the somewhat meagre literature the Moravian Church in America possesses, the assiduous efforts of the pen of Willian C. Reichel have added many valuable contributions, and we have only to regret that greater length of days, to use the language of Scripture, was not vouchsafed to him, in order to enable him to complete his very important and valuable work, the History of Bethlehem. In the compilation of this history, he left, during appropriate intervals, the field of fancy, and labored among dull statistics, title deeds of land holders, church and county archives, traditional facts gathered from aged sires, whose memories are wont to wander away from the beaten track of their past lives and need some fresh im-

pulse from your own suggestions. Our departed brother was not merely a matter of fact historian, but was naturally inclined to enliven his chronicles by blending with them the choicest associations of old Moravian customs. All the emblems of an age that has passed away and is never to be restored, are dwelt upon in his writings, and the charms they produced in his style will render his name precious and respected by those who can appreciate the themes he wrote upon.

His brother, Edward H. Reichel, entered our Association at its opening, in 1857, twenty years ago, and he remained a useful and active co-adjutor during all that time. In him both heart and mind were enlisted in the cause and work of the Moravian Historical Society, and his contributions in various ways were of no little service in sustaining it up to the present time.

These two estimable men have been called away from us by the hand of death in what is often termed the vigor of life, and during man's best years, and while we follow them with our sincerest regrets, let us hold them in kind and lasting remembrance.

THE TIMES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

From the time the Indian troubles ceased, which had lasted during the years 1755, 1756, 1757, we find little of historical interest to gather from the diaries. In addition to the daily record of meetings, there is scarcely any thing communicated to us by the diarist of what transpired in the world beyond the village itself.

Besides detailing the course of an inner life, which from our standpoint appears unique and peculiar, nothing from without seemed to attract the attention of the Moravian brethren. The visits of their friends from Bethlehem and guests from Philadelphia and other cities were, however, invariably noticed in the round of events.

They always came to Nazareth by way of Christian's Spring, and went through the "Hall" and the "Nursery" and extended their visit to "the Rose," and Friedensthal. Among these visitors, the Governor of the province is mentioned, who once during autumn came with his suite for the purpose of hunting. His stay lasted six days, and although we are not told what his success was in the chase, he went away well satisfied with his reception and entertainment among the brethren.

On the 17th of June, 1768, the Paedagogium was visited by Lord William Montagu, Governor of South Carolina, and his lady. They were escorted, as usual, by Bro. Ettwein, who brought them from Bethlehem. They witnessed the assemblage of boys and children in their Prayer Hall, and were honored with music and singing, which drew forth their warm approbation. Later in the evening, they repaired to "the Rose," where they reposed for the night.

During the Revolution, the brethren of Nazareth and the adjacent villages do not appear to have been seriously molested by the general disturbances of the country, although occasionally, some small bodies of the military passed through their settlements and demanded shelter. On the 4th of December, 1775, a considerable troop of royal soldiers, who had been made prisoners by the continental forces, at the taking of Fort St. John, on Lake Champlain, arrived at Nazareth, and were quartered there for the night They marched to Bethlehem next day, and were succeeded by another large troop, who also demanded night-quarters. The conduct of these soldiers, while staying at Nazareth, was altogether unexceptionable, and the brethren parted with them on friendly terms. But that this warlike array, in the midst of their quiet and peaceful life, was no very agreeable interruption, may be inferred from the words of the diary: "On the following day, we got rid of these guests." Similar visits were made by the soldiers and prisoners of war, in subsequent years, and the brethren were often called upon to vacate their houses and accommodate these rather unwelcome intruders.

The alarm caused by such visits was not a little augmented, when they happened to interfere with a festival, a sacred event, and seriously marred when the terrors and circumstances of war made their near approach.

In 1779, a company of 150 men of Gen. Pulaski's corps were lodged, partly in the "Gemein Haus;" they were all Germans and Protestants. Bro. Lembke, at their request, held a discourse for them on the text I Tim. i, 5. Both the soldiers and officers were very attentive, and conducted themselves quietly and discreetly during their stay. They remained over Sunday, and they hindered the celebration of the "Congregation Day."

By their particular request, they attended another discourse on he t ext, "Fear not, but believe." In the evening Bro. Lembke

held another pleasant singing meeting for them, making exclusive choice of well known Lutheran hymns. On the following day, at nine o'clock, they moved off, grateful for the attention they had received, and assuring the brethren they would never forget what they had seen and heard.

During the earlier years of the American Revolution, the Brethren's House at Bethlehem was converted into a hospital. This fate also befell the Brethrens' Choir House at Lititz, but their Choir House at Nazareth seems to have escaped such an unwelcome visitation. During the occupancy of the Bethlehem Brethren's House by the wounded troops, however, quite a uumber of its inmates came to Nazareth for shelter, and remained here until the mitigated alarms of war permitted them to return home.

The large choir buildings of Bethlehem and Lititz were an object of great desire for the wants of the army, and hence, were seized upon, during the pressing extremities of the campaign. The reason why Nazareth escaped this serious privation may have been the smallness of the Choir House, or the adequacy of those of the other villages for the accommodation of the sick and wounded.

But these were but small sacrifices, compared with other exactions made of the brethren in requiring them to become actual participants of the Rebellion, by swearing allegiance to the new cause.

The manner in which they conducted a long negotiation with the heads of the new government will be found in the history of Bethlehem, in which are shown the untiring exertions of Bro. John Ettwein, who visited the seat of the Continental Congress, as well as that of the state government, to plead in behalf of the non-resistant Moravians, to represent their submission to all the ruling governments under which they lived, but their unwillingness to aid in subverting old governments, in order to erect new ones.

The position they assumed was that the Moravian brethren held, and always had held, a position entirely aloof from all political entanglements. They paid taxes, aided in defraying expenses incidental to the state, contributed their quota to the requirements of war; opened their doors to the reception of the sick and wounded, lived in a quiet and inoffensive manner, as citizens, and obeyed the laws; but they could not take up arms, or be guilty of an oath of abjuration against a sovereign in whose distant realms all over the earth their fellow brethren were enjoying protection. The

struggle to obtain the interposition of the new government was long and serious, and the petitions written by Bro. John Ettwein and carried by him to the highest tribunal of the country were numerous.

The Act finally passed by Congress, Dec. 5th, 1777, depriving those who refused the Test Act of the right of voting, appearing as jurors and appointment to office, was hailed with joy by the brethren, for they cared little for those privileges, provided they were permitted to live unmolested in the discharge of their spiritual duties and the performance of the work, the fulfilment of which had brought them to America. In extenuation of the course pursued by our Moravian ancestors during the days of the Revolution, we must lay great stress upon the fact that the new spirit of political freedom had animated the minds of the young, but had not yet seduced the hearts of our older brethren from the paths of fidelity, as they regarded it, to George the Third. The young men held secret councils and discussed the new themes that had taken hold of the thoughts of the Americans throughout the land. They naturally sympathized with the new movement toward a renunciation of monarchical rule. The fathers of the Elders' Conference looked with dismay upon the threatened change in political opinion, and endeavored by all the authority they possessed to suppress it.

In one of the meetings of this body about this time, the subject of the young men's seditious movements was taken up in which the remark was alarmingly made, "*Sie reden von Freiheit!*"—a word that indicated treason and to be suppressed at all hazards. The attitude of the brethren seems to have evinced absence of patriotism, but their want of that feeling is in a great measure compensated by the history of their Christian deeds in administering to the wounded soldiers and giving all other material aid that lay in their power.[1]

After the times to which we have just referred had passed by, voting at the polls became a new subject for consideration, and the peculiar manner in which the brethren entered on the exercise of the new duties of American citizens is worthy of notice. The

[1] An act of Parliament passed at an early date (1749), had exempted the Moravian Brethren from the performance of military duty, on the ground of conscientious scruples.

council called the "Aufseher Collegium" met, and determined upon the political candidate they thought it expedient to support. A certain number of the brethren were then deputed to repair to the place of election, and deposit their votes for that candidate. By this procedure they meant to exhibit to the world their unanimity of thought and purpose and to evince a harmony among themselves that no political discussions should be allowed to interfere with. On the 2d of November, 1787, this rule was laid before the Nazareth congregation and explained to them, in view of an approaching political meeting that was to be held on the 6th of November, the object of which was to appoint delegates to the State Convention, which was about to convene for the purpose of accepting and ratifying the newly formed Constitution, which had been the work of the National Convention. On the 5th of the month, the brethren, accordingly, came together, to deliberate on the question of voting, before going to the polls next day.

We may, therefore, conclude from the occurrences of those days preceding and during the American Revolution, that the transition of our brethren, as adherents of the crown, into the state of American citizenship and the participation of republican duties was not an easy one.

For the reasons already stated, they still felt bound by an old allegiance they could not easily renounce. A younger generation was arising, by whom the new situation was more readily accepted, and it required years before the Moravians, generally, entered entirely and with the national warmth into republican feelings.

REVOLUTIONARY NOTES

CONCERNING

Nazareth, Friedensthal and Christian's Spring.

COMPILED BY HENRY A. JACOBSON.

[Read at the Annual Meeting of the Moravian Historical Society, September 26th, 1877.]

It would seem fitting in these years, when antiquarians all over the land are busy in establishing the truth of matters and events as thev existed and occurred a century ago, for us to perform the same service in behalf of our church and community.

An examination of the Church Diaries of those times is at first productive of disappointment; for they are mainly a monotonous record of daily church services, of admissions, rejections, marriages and deaths, more like the history of a family, than of a community forming part of the body politic. In truth, the brethren of those days wrote their brief records without much thought of the use they might be to the future historian.

However, here and there, there are allusions to the stirring events of those days, whose language and mode of expression enable us to form some idea of the sentiments by which our forefathers were animated. Here again we are likely to be disappointed. For we do not find any indications of that enthusiastic patriotism, that desire for liberty, that hatred of the foreign ruler, which we are accustomed to attribute to those times: only evasions of military service, attempts at release from odious taxes, or refusals to take the oath of allegiance to the colonial government. Still if we consider their antecedents, we will find abundant reasons to account for all this.

Nearly all of foreign birth, reared under the severe and warlike sceptre of Frederick the Great, accustomed all their days to monarchical manners and government, they could not be in sympathy with what they regarded as rebellion and unbridled license, or with a government by and for the people, as opposed to the divine right of kings to rule. Hence we find that in spite of various and repeated summons to them to appear at court and take the new oath of allegiance, these calls were always evaded, either by petitions for postponement, or by simply absenting themselves from the judicially appointed place. So strictly were they convinced of the correctness and probity of such a course of action, that the Elders' Conference of Nazareth, having learned upon one occasion that a certain communicant member of the congregation had secretly taken the oath, immediately ordered that, although each one was permitted to follow his own inclination in the matter, yet whoever took the oath would not be allowed to continue a communicant member of the congregation and as such participate in the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

This sentiment seems to have been shared by the members themselves, and appears to have reached its height when on September 16th, 1778, a summons came from Allentown, more peremptory than usual; the record says, "*alle Brüder wie ein Mann declarirten sich den Test nicht zu nehmen.*" And yet, towards the close of the year 1778, they did succeed, in combination with the other Pennsylvania congregations, and under the able leadership of Bro. Ettwein of Bethlehem, in having the requirements of the law partly modified, partly suspended temporarily in their favor by the General Assembly. That they ever took the oath of allegiance does not appear from the record; but as the war drew to a close, and the hopelessness of the royal cause became evident, they gradually accommodated themselves to the new laws and requirements.

They were consistent in their opposition, for no hardship could compel them to take an oath of fealty which they considered an evidence of rebellion against the laws of God and of their rightful rulers. An act was offered in the Assembly in December, 1777, ordering the confiscation of the property of those who refused to subscribe to the Test Act. In October, 1779, the same class of unwilling subjects was threatened with the loss of the rights of citizenship for the same cause. But these threats (and such they

happily remained) did not change their determination. Nor were they alone in the stand they had taken; for it is recorded under date of April 4th, 1778, that twelve brethren from Emmaus were imprisoned at Easton on bread and water fare until the 29th of the same month, because they refused to take the test oath. The same infliction was visited upon thirteen others of the same place on September 22d of the same year. How the brethren of Nazareth escaped a similar fate, especially after passing the resolution of September 16th, 1778, above referred to, is difficult to understand. The brethren in Bethlehem, being in more constant and intimate communication with the civil government, yielded to the force of circumstances much earlier and with a better grace than the brethren at Nazareth. A very serious inconvenience the latter had to endure on this account was the circuitous route they had to take to communicate with the brethren at Hope, New Jersey. As all who refused to take the oath of fealty were not allowed to go further in that direction than Easton, recourse was had to some of the ferries and fords along the upper portion of the Delaware River. Considerable watchfulness was necessary to elude the guards stationed there. During the earlier years of the war, members from Bethlehem also traveled by this route. The intelligence brought back was always to the effect that the brethren at Hope also steadfastly refused to take the new oath, though their proximity to the scene of actual hostilities should have rendered such a course the least advisable.

It happened but seldom that troops were quartered here, though soldiers destined for the army, or prisoners captured in battle frequently passed through; sometimes they remained twenty-four or forty-eight hours. These generally had quarters assigned them in the large barn in Old Nazareth or in the woods near by, and, on one occasion, in the Hall (December 16th and 17th, 1776). Frequently among the prisoners were found men from the same German or Hessian provinces from which some of the inhabitants of the place had emigrated. No wonder, then, that prisoners at least seldom fared badly here. Many of these, especially in 1776 and 1777, came from Albany, Ticonderoga, or posts near there; the prisoners were on the way to Bethlehem and Reading,—the soldiers to join the main army in Jersey. Christian's Spring shared the burden with Nazareth, being at that time on the main

road from Nazareth to Bethlehem. In September, 1777, the occupation of the place by wounded and prisoners was threatened, but it never came to pass.[1] Foragers in goodly numbers, mostly cavalry, were encamped (living in tents) near by and at Christian's Spring and Friedensthal from September 26th to November 23d, 1777, much to the alarm of the peaceloving inhabitants of these settlements. They were, however, not greatly molested by the strangers.

In December, 1777 and January, 1778, requisitions for blankets and clothes for the army were made here and at Guadenthal and Christian's Spring, and willingly fulfilled.

On December 20th, 1776 the militia of Mt. Bethel, and on January 4th, 1777, those from Wyoming passed through the town. During the year 1777 no troops remained in the town overnight. In 1779 (Feb. 18th to 20th), one hundred and fifty of Pulaski's division were lodged in the town (in the Old Nazareth barn); on the first and last days of their stay, they desired to have a sermon preached to them, to which request Bro. Lembke gladly acceded; he spoke with unusual earnestness and power, and to the great delight of the troops. A number of the members of the congregation were also present. The services were held in the church.

In July, 1778, many refugees from Wyoming arrived, bringing news of devastations, by hostile Indians seven or eight miles away, and inducing fears of an attack on the town; but these apprehensions were groundless, and no incursion followed.

The Brethren considered their chief duty to be to live a quiet and peaceable life, and therefore they scrupulously refrained from rendering any military service during the entire war. When, at last, they were notified by judicial process issued from Easton, that unless all above sixteen years of age presented themselves there on a certain day for military duty, they would be taxed to a certain amount,[2] and after the last of several successive attempts at post-

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[1] Three houses were, however, put in readiness for the occupation, viz.: those occupied by the brethren Weinert, Oesterlein and Fritsche. During the same month (September 20th), six brethren came from Bethlehem to Christian's Spring to make room for the wounded at the former place.

[2] £3 10s for every man from 16 to 50 years of age. The tax was collected on May 22d, 1777, by a collector (Mr. Lival by name), accompanied by seven armed men.

ponement had failed,—they finally determined rather to pay the tax than perform military duty. Even until after the close of the war, the governing board held the members of the congregation strictly to this course of action. When through the depreciation of the currency (its value being sometimes in the ratio of 100 dollars continental currency for one dollar gold[2]), money became very dear and scarce, and it was learned that all that had to be done was to respond to their names as they were called, quite a number of the Single Brethren repaired secretly to Easton to present themselves with the Batallion, and thus escape the payment of the tax. They were detected, reprimanded for leaving the Brethren's House without permission, and some were suspended, others excluded from communicant membership. Those who were too poor to pay the tax, were helped from the general fund (probably of the Nazareth Diacony). Under date of October 10th, 1782, it is recorded that money had been received from the Brethren in Europe towards the defrayal of this militia tax. What was still wanting at that time was made up by the congregation. Thus, though debt at one time stared them in the face, they succeeded in paying everything. In order to curtail expenses, the evening services were frequently held in summer at six, in winter at five o'clock.

Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that they were greatly displeased when, in April, 1786, the "Battalion Drill" was ordered to take place at Nazareth, near the hotel. Certain brethren were appointed, whose duty it was to keep a strict watch on the Single Brethren on that day, lest they should fall in line with the rest.

They were full of faith that the Lord was with them. Many a time, as summons after summons for military service reached them, did they ask the Lord for advice by means of the lot, and the answer was invariably of the following character,--this answer having been transmitted by Bro. Ettwein from Bethlehem for the comfort of the Brethren here, as it had reassured the Brethren there,—"The Lord approves rather that we for the present do nothing in this matter." And the Lord in whom they trusted helped them through most wonderfully. Their crops, their main

[2] In 1780, the mission collection of $525. currency, was equal to £16, hard money; in 1781, a similar collection of $1310, currency, was equal to 7 shillings, hard money.

support, never failed them during these troublous times, and they went in and out in peace.

The general tenor of their belief is fully indicated in an address by Bro. Ettwein to the congregation at Christian's Spring in the year 1777, to the effect that "their main work was to serve the Lord, and that nothing should be allowed to interfere with their allegiance to Him, or to sever their intimate connection with Him as their only Saviour. In order to do this, they should keep themselves aloof from all political excitement," &c., &c.

Many were the admonitions and warnings given to the young men against indulging in the profanity and intemperate habits of the officers who were frequently quartered in the Brethren's House. But in spite of these warnings, the vice of intemperance spread rapidly, liquor being even brought into the Brethren's House and consumed there, with deplorable results. These occurrences caused the Elders' Conference of the congregation to hold many anxious consultations and to offer many earnest prayers in behalf of the Single Brethren who had been led astray. Gradually, however, the evil abated.

The Fast Days ordered by the General Government, at least once, sometimes twice every year from 1775 to 1783, were scrupulously observed; in the morning there was an appropriate sermon, in the afternoon reading of mission reports or one of Zinzendorf's sermons, in the evening generally a "*Singstunde.*" Whenever the day appointed was a weekday, work was in great measure suspended.

In 1776 great trouble was experienced in getting the *Gemein Nachrichten* from Germany, and in 1777 no *Loosungen* were received. As a substitute, the old ones were used over again.

The town was frequently visited by men prominent in civil and military affairs, though it was not as much favored in that respect as Bethlehem. Bro. Ettwein several times brought members of the Assembly from Bethlehem to this place, who invariably expressed their astonishment at finding so orderly a community in the midst of the wilderness. Generals Sullivan, Schuyler and Gates, also paid visits to the town at various periods. The latter was here several times, remaining once with his family overnight. Other visitors were the French minister (Nov. 26th, 1778), and Gov. John Penn, (May 1st, 1781).

A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM,

COMPILED FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SOCIETY,

BY

AUGUSTUS SCHULTZE.

4

A BRIEF HISTORY

OF THE

WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM.

The Widows' Society of Bethlehem, one of the oldest beneficial societies in this country, was organized in the fall of 1770, and has therefore, up to this time, been in existence for one hundred and nine years. Small in its beginning, and, from the nature of its organization, always limited to a small sphere of activity, it has yet been the means of giving timely help and assistance to hundreds of poor widows, and has steadily increased its capacity for doing good. Although its career, on the whole, has been exceptionally prosperous, it has also passed through a period of severe struggles and difficulties, all of which however have only aided in establishing it more firmly. And now a golden harvest from the good seed sown in the sweat of the brow by the forefathers, is reaped by the descendants and successors of those good brethren of "ye olden time," or rather by their widows.

One of the most noteworthy features of this Society is, no doubt, that the minutes of the same, for more than a century, have been regularly kept in the German language, although the members of the Society and the Secretaries were mostly Americans. The legal documents and most of the accounts were, from the first, written in English, but the meetings of the Society seem to have been always conducted in the German language. Indeed, the minutes of the Board of Directors are kept in German to the present day, while those of the General Meetings of the Society, by a resolution passed in 1876, have of late years been written in English. These minutes, in speaking of different people, give them no honorary titles. Whatever their position or rank in the church or in civil

life may have been, they are simply called by the name "Brother;" and as we hold, with our fathers, that the names of Brother and Sister are the most honorable titles which members of the Brethren's Church can receive, we retain them in this record as we find them.

The history of the Society naturally divides itself into three periods of unequal length, namely:

1. The first five years, from 1771–1776, or the time of organization and prosperous beginning.

2. The years from 1776–1815, or forty years of plodding and patient labor.

3. The time from 1816 to the present date, or sixty-four years of uninterrupted prosperity.

FIRST PERIOD.

THE TIME FROM 1771 TO 1776. A PROSPEROUS BEGINNING.

First General Meeting

The Journal or Account-book begins with the 27th of November, 1770, when seventy-four members paid their entrance-fee; but the first record preserved in the minutes of the Society is that of a meeting held on January 2d, 1771. It begins as follows: "There were about fifty members present, and it was announced, with heartfelt thanks to our dear Lord, who Himself has promised to be the husband of the widows, that the trustees chosen have, by the grace of God, carried out their commission so far, as to be ready for the formal establishment of the Society. It was also stated, in particular, that several brethren signified their willingness to join the Society, from a sense of love and esteem for this laudable institution and for the purpose of furthering its object, rather than because they considered the possible advantages thereby accruing to their wives."

The Constitution.

It may be of interest here, to read the twenty-one articles of the Constitution agreed upon by the Brethren who founded the Society. A copy of these, printed in pamphlet form, large folio of eight pages, neatly ornamented, the English and German in opposite columns, is still in the possession of the Board of Directors of the Society:

"We the Subscribers being Members of the Brethren's Church, have for good Causes and Considerations concluded to associate in the Name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, to establish a

Fund for Brethren's Widows, and at the same time we have unanimously agreed upon the following Rules and Fundamental Maxims, *To wit*,

1. No PERSON shall be admitted into this Association who is not at the same Time actually a Member of the Brethren's Church or UNITAS FRATRUM, and residing in Pennsylvania or in the neighbouring Provinces. Yet, in Case any who are Members of the Society in Connexion with the Brethren's Church, are desirous of entering into this Association, they may make known such their Desire to this Association at any of their Meetings, when, by Majority of Votes, it shall be concluded whether such Person is to be admitted or not.
2. Any Person proposing to be admitted shall be in good bodily Health, whereof, at the Request of this Association or their Stewards, he shall exhibit a well attested Certificate in Writing.
3. To the End that the Plan of this Brotherly Association may be more speedily established and regulated, and to make some Beginning thereof, the married Brethren at Bethlehem have, by Majority of Votes, elected Trustees these following Brethren, to wit: John Ettwein, Ferdinand Detmers, John Valentine Haidt, Francis Oberlin, Christian Frederick Oerter, and Matthias Weiss. With these Trustees or with any one thereof, all Persons who desire to be Members of this Association, shall between this Day and the First Tuesday in January, 1771, (it being the proper Epoch of this Institution) make Entries in Writing of their own and their Wives' Names, and Sirnames, of the Years and Days on which both of them were born, of the Place of their Abodes, also a Certificate of their being in good bodily Health; at the same Time they are to transmit their Entrance-Money to either of the respective Classes hereafter mentioned, to which they intend to belong. And a Receipt signed by at least Three of the said Trustees shall be given them for that Money. As soon as the said Trustees have a considerable Sum in Hand, they shall put out the same on good Land-Security at lawful Interest, for the Use of the said Association.
4. At LITITZ, LANCASTER, YORKTOWN, PHILADELPHIA, NEW-YORK, and at any other Place where Seven Persons intending to become Members of this Association reside together, they may among themselves chuse an Agent or Correspondent, who may transact their Business with the Trustees, until the first Tuesday in January, 1771, and afterwards with the Stewards.
5. The aforesaid Association shall once in every half Year hold a General Meeting at Bethlehem, to wit, on the first Tuesday in January, and on the first Tuesday in July, the first thereof

to be on the first Tuesday of January 1771, to which Meetings all Persons that shall then have paid their Entrance-Money, whether they live nigh or remote, are invited. At this first Meeting, and from thenceforth in every Year, on the first Tuesday in the Month of January, a Treasurer and Six Stewards shall be chosen by a Majority of Votes by Ballot, who among themselves are to chuse one for their President, and another to be Secretary and Accomptant, who is to keep the Minutes, enter their Resolves, and take Care of the Books relating to the State of their Affairs. At the same time Three other Members shall be chosen a Committee to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer and Stewards, and, if found right, to approve of the same. After this the Books, Accompts, Cash, and all Things belonging to this Association, shall be delivered to the new chosen Treasurer and Stewards, the State of Affairs concisely drawn up, and by circular Letters transmitted to the Correspondents for the Inspection of every one of the Persons interested. Provided that the Members present at the first Meeting may, if they think fit, elect one or other of the herein first-named Trustees, and at any of the subsequent Meetings the former Treasurer and any or all of the former Stewards may be re-elected.

In every of the said Half-yearly Meetings the Concerns of the said Association shall be considered, new Members thereof admitted, the Payments to the Widows regulated, and other such like Matters provided for; yet so that no very important Matters shall in any of the said Meetings be determined, if there be not at least Twenty-five Members of this Association present; and whatever they, by a Majority of Votes, agree upon shall be conclusive.

6. The Treasurer and Stewards of this Association shall meet at Bethlehem aforesaid once in every Quarter of a Year, to wit, the Fourth Tuesday in February, May, August and November, at which no less than Five must be present in order to manage the Concerns of this Association and of the Widows thereto belonging, and to regulate all such Matters as of course shall come before them. To the aforesaid Treasurer, or any one of the Stewards, at or before their Meeting-Days, the Members are to transmit as well their Entrance-Money as their Half-yearly Contributions, for which they will give an Acquittance. And the Agents or Correspondents mentioned in the fourth Article, if it suits them, shall have Liberty to assist at those Quarterly Meetings, and shall be considered Assistant Stewards with the Rest of them.

For this purpose the Treasurer and Stewards should be Residents at Bethlehem, where the Cash is to be lodged, or within Ten

Miles thereof, that it might be convenient to them to assist at these Meetings. Their Resolves shall be subject to the Examination of the Half-yearly Meetings, who, if they think proper, may amend such Resolves. No Treasurer or Steward shall ever expect any Compensation for their Trouble from the Treasury or from the Widows.

7. There shall be provided out of the Treasury proper Books for entering these Articles of Association, the Names of the Members thereof and of their Wives, with both their Ages, the Names of the Widows for the Time being, with all the Incomes and Disbursements. These Books shall either at the Half-yearly Meetings or at the House of the Accomptant be produced to any of the Members who shall be desirous to peruse the same.

8. Every Member, at their Half-yearly Meetings, shall have full Liberty to declare his Mind and Opinion upon the Concerns of this Association, but no more than one Person shall speak at the same time, and, whilst speaking, shall stand up. During such Debates every one attends to what is said, by which Means they are enabled to give their Votes for the Good of this Association and of their Widows.

9. And to render the Plan of this Association of Brethren the more extensive, we have regulated the same in the Two following Classes, to wit,

In the First CLASS

A Man without Respect of the Age of himself or his Wife pays Entrance-Money into this Association the Sum of Ten Pounds Currency of Pennsylvania, and in every Year following a Contribution of Five Shillings like Currency in Two Half-yearly Payments, one thereof to be made on or before the fourth Tuesday in May, and the other thereof on or before the fourth Tuesday in November, during the Life of the Woman for whom he has entered.

In the Second CLASS

A Man without Respect of the Age of himself or his Wife pays Entrance-Money into this Association the Sum of Five Pounds Currency aforesaid and in every Year following a Contribution of Two Shillings and Six Pence like Currency in Two Half-yearly Payments, one thereof to be made on or before the fourth Tuesday in May, and the other thereof on or before the fourth Tuesday in November, during the Life of the Woman for whom he has entered.

In Consideration of the above-mentioned Entrance-Monies and yearly Contributions, each Widow of a Member of the

first Class shall be entitled to an Annuity of FIFTEEN POUNDS Pennsylvania Currency. And each Widow of a Member of the second Class to an Annuity of SEVEN POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS like Currency to be paid her in Half-yearly Payments, in Manner following; to wit, The Widows of Persons who by their Payment of the Entrance-Money in either of the Two Classes shall on the first Tuesday in January, 1771, become Members of this Association, shall at the Expiration of Six Months next after the Day of the Death of their Husbands receive their first Half-yearly Payments. And the Widows of such Persons as by their Payments of the Entrance-Money in either of the Two Classes shall, at the second General Meeting, to wit, on the first Tuesday in July, 1771, be admitted Members thereof, shall at the Expiration of One Year next after the Day of the Death of their Husbands receive their first Half-yearly Payments, which shall be made to them by the Treasurer for the time being, as long as they remain the Widows of their deceased Husbands. And upon the Remarriage of any such Widow her Interest in this Association and the Annuity shall become extinct. But with regard to those Persons who after the Two first General Meetings in any of the subsequent Half-yearly Meetings may be admitted Members of this Association, how much they are to pay in either of the aforesaid Two Classes Entrance-Money and yearly Contributions, respect being had to the Difference of Ages of the Husband and Wife, is to be settled and determined by this Association at their Half-yearly Meetings by a Majority of Votes.

10. Whenever the Treasurer and the Stewards shall have FIFTY POUNDS or more in Hand over and besides what is required to pay the Annuities of Widows, they shall, as soon as conveniently may be, put out the same Sum at Interest for the Benefit of this Association.

11. In Case of the Death of the Wife of any Member of this Association, her surviving Husband shall not demand back his first Entrance-Money nor the yearly Contributions from Time to Time by him made. But if he chuseth to continue, paying his yearly Contributions, he may remain a Member of the Association: And, if he then marry again a Woman not above Five Years younger than himself, she shall after his Decease be entitled to the same Annuity as her Husband's first Wife would have been, according to the Class to which he was belonging. But, if such second Wife shall be above Five Years younger than her Husband, this Association, at their Half-yearly Meetings, shall regulate the Quantum of her Husband's Entrance-Money, or Premium,

and of his yearly Contributions over and above the Rate of his first original Quantum.

12. If any of those Members who, on or before the first Tuesday in 1771, have deposited FIVE POUNDS to the Second Class, and, agreeable to these Presents, ever since that Time punctually paid their yearly Contributions of TWO SHILLINGS and SIX PENCE, should be inclined to become a Contributor of the First Class, and for that purpose pay into the Hands of the Treasurer of this Association his Complement of FIVE POUNDS, together with SIX SHILLINGS Interest, and TWO SHILLINGS and SIX PENCE Contributions, making in the Whole EIGHT SHILLINGS and SIX PENCE per Annum, to be computed from the said first Tuesday of January 1771, to the Day of such Payment, then and in such Case his surviving Widow shall have the same Revenue as Widows of the Subscribers in the first Class.

13. For as much as it is one of our principal Concerns that this Association may from henceforth, and at all Times hereafter, so continue that neither the Members thereof, nor the Widows thereto belonging be too much incumbered, We have expressly and irrevocably determined on these unalterable and constant Rules of Practice:

a. If at any Time it should happen that there be so many Widows to the said Association belonging, as that their Annuities should amount to more than the yearly Income of the Association, then the Annuities of the Widows for the Time being shall be lowered, and apportioned according to their respective Classes: so nevertheless that each Widow of the first Class receive no less than TWELVE POUNDS, and a Widow of the Second Class no less than SIX POUNDS yearly, in Half-yearly Payments. But, if the Income of this Association should fall short even for that lowered Sum, then the Treasurer and Stewards shall so much apportion and assess on all the Members of the said Association, according to their respective Classes, as shall be wanting to make up the said Sums of £12, and £6 respectively, and by circular Letters directed to all the Members, or to the Correspondents, give timely Notice thereof. Which said extraordinary Contribution shall be paid at the then next following Half-yearly Meeting, to the End that the Sums so limited to each of the said Widows may be paid to them fully and without Delay. But as soon as the Income of this Association shall have so far increased that each of the Widows may be thereout paid the respective Sums of £12, or £6, then the said extraordinary Contributions shall immediately cease.

b. The principal Sums arising from the Entrance-Monies paid

by the Members shall never be used or laid out for any Purpose whatsoever, but those principal Sums which have arisen from Interest or from Half-yearly Contributions, and have been lent out at Interest for any Time not exceeding a Year and a Day, may be called in and laid out for the Purposes above mentioned so that the aforesaid extraordinary Contributions may be taken off, or lessened. But any of the last mentioned principal Sums that have been placed out at Interest for any longer Time than a Year and a Day, shall never be used or employed for any Purpose whatsoever.

14. And in as much as the Motive of this Brotherly Association is no other but such Compassion and Concern for Widows as is pleasing to Almighty GOD, it is agreed that from the first Tuesday in January, 1772, One Annuity in two Half-yearly Payments shall be given and distributed to and among such Widows of the Bethlehem Widow-House, as on Account of their old Age or Infirmities are not able to earn sufficient to support themselves in the Necessaries of Life, and have no Prospect of any other Relief or Assistance. But whether this Annuity shall be one of the First or Second Class, the Members of the Half-yearly Meetings shall determine by a Majority of Votes; for it is intended that on the Account of this Charity, the Annuities of Widows belonging to this Association, shall at no time be charged or defaulked, nor any extraordinary Contribution required from the members of this Association.

15. If at any future Time, by the Blessings of our LORD, and the faithful Administration of the Funds of this Association, the yearly Interest and Half-yearly Contributions should amount to so high a Sum as that to all Appearance this Association is in no Danger of being ever charged with extraordinary Contributions; and if at the same time any Widow to this Association belonging should become so infirm as that she could earn nothing at all, having no Assistance elsewhere to depend on, in which Case her half-yearly Allowance would be insufficient for her Maintenance: then such Widow may have her Case reported to the Half-yearly Meetings, which, by Majority of Votes, may determine how much additional Money the Treasurer shall pay to her until the next Half-yearly Meeting. And if the Income of this Association should amount to such Value as above mentioned, the Half-yearly Meetings may likewise, by Majority of Votes, determine that the Half-yearly Overplus of the Income shall be proportionably distributed among the Widows of this Association, or be bestowed on other poor Widows of Brethren.

16. No Member of this Association may be interested in any more than one single Share either in the First or in the Second Class. No Man may sell or assign his Wife's Interest, in such a Manner that the Purchaser or Assignee should receive any Annuity during the Life of the Widow. And such Widow herself, when she cometh to the Enjoyment of her Annuity, shall not have Power to sell or assign the same, but the Money shall be paid to her own Hands, or on a Receipt signed by her, and to no other Person whatsoever.

17. No Member of this Association must expect Warning to pay his Half-yearly Contributions, and if he be in Arrear for two Half-yearly Payments, and do not pay this Debt within the Space of one Month next after the Day when his second Payment became due, he and his Widow shall forfeit their Interest in this Association. Saving nevertheless, if he shew such Causes of his Neglect, as the Members of the Half-yearly Meeting, by a Majority of Votes, shall allow of. Each Member of this Association shall and will punctually conform to this Article.

18. Since we are commanded in the Name of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, that we withdraw ourselves from every Brother that walketh disorderly, 2 Thess. iii. 6, we may not be in Fellowship with any one who (which GOD forbid) would become an Enemy and Persecutor of the Brethren's Church and of her Members, or lead a scandalous Life in the Face of the World, and contract an evil Name: Therefore, if against any one such like Complaints be made, and the Truth thereof peremptorily found by a Majority of the Members present at a Half-yearly Meeting, he shall be restrained from the Liberty of personally attending these Meetings. And in Case any such excluded Member in the Life-time of his Wife, with her full and free Assent, shall demand back his Entrance-Money and yearly Contributions, the Treasurer shall pay him the same in one intire Sum without any Interest. Provided he first deliver into the Hands of the Treasurer, a Declaration in Writing of such his own and his Wife's Desire, and a Disclaimer of all their Right to this Association, to be signed by him and his Wife, and attested by one of the Judges of the Supream Court, or by two of the Justices of the County, where they shall reside, the Release and Acknowledgement thereof to be drawn from such Precedent, as at his Request he shall be furnished with.

19. If any Person by his last Will and Testament shall give a Legacy, or otherwise in his Life-time make a Gift to this Institution, the Treasurer and Stewards shall employ such Donations to the same Purpose as the Entrance-Monies and

yearly Contributions are directed to be employed by these present Articles.

20. After the Decease of a Member of this Association, his Widow relict is to give Notice in Person to one of the Stewards or Correspondents, or by Letter directed either to the Quarterly Meeting of the Stewards, or to the Half-yearly Meeting of the Association, and if she live at a Distance of above Ten Miles from BETHLEHEM, she is to send a Certificate of her Husband's Decease, and the Date thereof, and, if required, also a Certificate, to be signed by one of the Pastors of the Brethren in her Neighbourhood, setting forth, that she is still remaining a Widow. And if thereupon it shall appear, that her deceased Husband has been a Member of this Association, and regularly paid his yearly Contributions, she shall have her Annuity paid her by the Treasurer, agreeable to the Rules established in the Ninth of these Articles, as long as she shall remain the Widow of her said deceased Husband.

21. And we, and each of us, who, by our Signing and Sealing of these Presents, are or shall become Members of this Association, DO covenant, promise, and agree each of us with the others, That we, and each of us, shall and will punctually and wholly, without any Reservation, fulfill and perform all the herein above contained Articles of Agreement; and likewise all such other Rules and Regulations not herein before mentioned, as this Association in their Half-yearly Meetings shall, on Behalf of their Widows, hereafter make, agreeable to this Fundamental Establishment thereof. And we, by these Presents, DO, and each of us DOTH, advisedly and spontaneously declare and agree one to and with each other, That if any or either of us shall not punctually and wholly fulfill the Articles of Agreement herein above contained, or designedly oppose the same, he or they shall and will of and from all his and their Right to this Association, and the Entrance-Monies and Half-yearly Contributions, and his or their Wives, if they become Widows, of and from the Benefit of their intended Annuity, be excluded and for ever debarred by these Presents.

And each of us, for himself, his Heirs, Executors and Administrators, DOTH covenant, promise and agree to and with each and every the others of them, Parties hereto, That neither we nor any of us shall and will at any Time hereafter molest, sue, or in Law prosecute the Members of this Association, their Treasurer, Stewards, or any of them, for the Recovery of any Right or Interest, which by Virtue of these present Articles, or according to the true Meaning and Intent thereof, shall be justly forfeited.

IN WITNESS whereof, we have hereunto set our Hands and Seals, the Twenty-fourth Day of September, in the Year of our LORD One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy."

Sealed and Delivered
in the Presence of us.

The Directors' copy is signed and sealed by several hundred members, whose names form a most interesting collection of autographs, including those of almost all the fathers in the American branch of the Moravian Church.

Membership.

As was before stated, the Society had been organized, some time in the fall of 1770, with seventy-four members, but at the first general meeting it already numbered one hundred and ten members, viz.: seventy-five Brethren in the first class and thirty-five in the second, all of whom had paid their entrance-fee in cash, making a Capital Stock of £925 or $2,466.66⅔ of our present currency. (One pound Pennsylvania currency was equal to $2.66⅔, one shilling equal to 0.13⅓). Four more Brethren made application during the meeting, two of whom, viz.: John Loretz and Christian Gregor, were members of the Unity's Elders' Conference in Germany, but at the time living at Bethlehem. This swelled the amount of the stock assets to the sum of £950.

In regard to Wachovia (the Moravian settlements in North Carolina) it was resolved, to receive Brethren from there upon written application, provided they could not form a separate society for themselves. Missionaries to the West Indies should be admitted, when living in Bethlehem at the time of making application, but not otherwise.

The members living at Lancaster had chosen a correspondent, to communicate with the Brethren at Bethlehem in their behalf, and those living at Lititz and at other places were asked to do the same.

Investment of Capital.

The Capital Stock was placed at interest with the Bethlehem Diacony, and to make the investment absolutely secure, Bro. Nathanael Seidel, the nominal Proprietor of all the real estate owned by the Moravian Church in this country, was to give the Society, through its Stewards, a bond and mortgage on two tracts of land, one of them "situate on the East Side of Bethlehem, in Bethlehem Township, upon the West Branch of Delaware River, containing five hundred acres and allowance," the other,

"situate on the North-West side of Bethlehem, in Allen Township, containing two hundred acres and allowance." These seven hundred acres were considered sufficient security for £1,000. The mortgage was to be made over to the stewards, elected at this first meeting, and to their heirs. The stewards, in their turn, were to make a declaration of trust and to give a bond to four other Brethren of the Society, the latter bond to be kept in the archives of the Bethlehem congregation, in care of Bro. Thraene, one of the pastors of the congregation. Both papers were to be properly registered in the County Office.

Annuities.

The annuities of future widows, as we see from the rules, were fixed at the rate of £15, equal to $40.00 for the first-class, and £7, 10*s*. equal to $20.00 for the second, making the annuities received to exceed the admission-fees paid in by their husbands.

There evidently existed a doubt in the minds of some of the Brethren, as to whether it would be possible to pay such large annuities regularly in the future. We find that, at the first general meeting of the Society, the question was asked, whether it would not be better to divide the receipts instead of making the annuities a fixed amount, provided that, if the dividend exceeded £15 and £7 10*s*. respectively, the surplus be added to the capital. It was, however, resolved unanimously "to stand by the articles," because, as the minutes have it, "it was not feared that an extraordinary contribution would be required often; and if this should be the case, the rule might be changed in the future, provided that, if there were any widows before the change contemplated was made, these should always receive at least £12 or £6 respectively, because each member has the right to decrease the income of *his* wife only."

Organization completed.

It was also agreed, at this meeting, that the rules and principles of the Society should at once be printed, both in English and German, and a copy, duly signed by the Stewards and the Treasurer, should be handed to each member for a certificate of membership. In return, the members living at a distance were each to sign and seal a copy of the same, and send it to the Stewards as a pledge of their promise to observe the rules, while those living at Bethlehem and Nazareth were, in a body, to sign a copy of the rules.

Finally it was stated that, if the membership should increase to 200, it would be necessary to incorporate the Society, either by virtue of a charter from the Governor or by an Act of Assembly. But before this be done, it would be necessary to examine and revise the articles once more, "as by the act of incorporation said articles would become a law, and could nevermore be changed."

At a subsequent meeting, held January 12th of the same year, the printed articles of the Society were distributed, the printing having been done *gratis* by Bro. Henry Miller of Philadelphia, who "voluntarily, freely and cheerfully gave this as a donation." This gentleman was accordingly honored with the title of "the first benefactor" of the Society.

Thus the organization of the "Brethren's Widows' Society" was completed, and the ship was safely launched for the long voyage which, though it has not been free from storms, has, thus far, been remarkably prosperous. It will be noticed that the founders of this Society were not only Christian men and brethren, but that they were, at the same time, very careful in the framing of the constitution, and very anxious that everything should be done legally and honestly, both in the sight of God and of man.

The oldest members of the Society were Michael Haberland and David Nitschmann, both born in 1698, and, therefore, 72 years old, when they became members; among the oldest was Nicholas Garrison, born in 1701, and formerly the captain of the "Moravian emigrant-ship" to this country. One of the first members was Andrew, the Negro.

The Steward's Bond.

At the General Meeting held July 2, 1771, several new members were received, so that the Society numbered ninety-three Brethren of the first class and thirty-one of the second, making a total of one hundred and twenty-four members. Of the capital, which now amounted to £1125 19. 3, the sum of £1000 was loaned to the "Bethlehem Diacony," as agreed in a former meeting. The mortgage from Bro. Nathaniel Seidel was handed to the stewards, who, in turn, gave their bond to four Brethren of the Congregation. The latter document, a copy of which is entered upon the minutes, begins as follows:

"Know all Men by these Presents That We Christian Friederich Oerter, John Ettwein, Ferdinand Detmers, John Valentine Haidt, Francis Oberlin, Matthias Weiss and Gottlieb Lange

all of Bethlehem in the County of Northampton in the Province of Pennsylvania, Gentlemen, are each of us held and firmly bound unto Paul Münster, Jeremias Denke, Abraham Andreas and Timothy Horsfield junior of the same Place, Gentlemen, in the Sum of Two Thousand Pounds, lawful Money of Pennsylvania, to be paid to the said Paul Münster, Jeremias Denke, Abraham Andreas and Timothy Horsfield junior, their certain Attorney, Executors, Administrators or Assigns: To which Payment well and truly to be made We do bind each of us himself, his Heirs, Executors and Administrators severally, but not jointly, firmly by these Presents, Sealed with our Seals Dated the Second Day of January in the Year of our LORD one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one and in the Eleventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Third by the Grace of GOD King of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. . . . ."

At the General Meeting held in January, 1772, a resolution was passed to the effect that from that date until January, 1775, any new applicant for admission to the first class, beside paying the admission-fee and the annual contribution, should also make up the contributions already paid by the original members, viz., 5 Shillings per annum, together with 12 Shillings interest on the £10, for every year from January, 1771, until the day of his admission. Applicants for admission to the second class were expected to pay £5 admission, 6 sh. interest and 2 sh. 5d. arrears of contribution for every year up to date. The intent of this resolution, evidently, was that of making new members pay exactly the same amount, as if they had entered at the time when the Society was organized, before they became entitled to the same claims which the former had. In the same manner, if any members belonging to the second class desired to secure to their wives the rights and claims of the first class, they were to pay £5 additional entrance-money, 6 sh. interest, and 2 sh. 6 d. arrears of contribution for every year from 1771 to date. It was also resolved, that applicants not living in Bethlehem should make application either through their regular correspondents or, where no such existed, through their ministers. All applicants were to give their family-names and Christian names, as well as those of their wives; also the exact date of their birth, together with a certificate of their health, signed by their pastor.

Finally it was announced, at the same meeting, that Sister Eliza Poppellwell, whose husband had recently died, was the first widow entitled to an annuity of the first class. As appears from later minutes, she enjoyed the benefits of the Society for fully *forty* years. First Payment.

At the July meeting of the same year, § 14 of the Articles, which determined that one Annuity, in half-yearly payments, should every year be distributed among some poor widows in the Bethlehem Widows' House, was for the first time acted upon. The Lot decided that, this time, it should be an annuity of the first class. Accordingly £7 10*s.* were divided among eight widows, making about $2.37 per share.

At the same meeting it became necessary to enforce another and to some Brethren rather objectionable Article of the rules, viz. § 11. One of the members, a Bro. Wiesinger, had lost his wife and had married again. The rule stipulated that if a widower, who was a member of the Society, married a second time and the difference between his age and that of his new wife was not more than five years, no additional payment should be required. Upon investigation of this case it was found that his second wife was more than five years younger than her husband, and it was therefore for the Society to determine, what additional sum he should pay to secure to his second wife the privileges which his first wife would have enjoyed, had he preceded her to eternity. The meeting resolved, unanimously, that he should pay, for said difference in the age of his wife, the additional sum of £1 17*s.* 6*d.* extra, "and with that," so the record of that meeting closes, "the meeting adjourned grateful towards our dear Lord for this institution." Art. 11 or Second Marriage.

However not all the members were satisfied with the proceeding in regard to Bro. Wiesinger's case. At the next semi-annual meeting, January, 1773, several members expressed their dissatisfaction that the resolution had been passed, and declared that they considered the entire § 11 disadvantageous to the treasury and a burden to the members. They did not think it right that the payment of one admission-fee of £10 or £5 should secure an annuity to two or three persons, as they expressed it. Hence two new propositions were made, viz.

a. To limit the benefit of § 11 altogether to the present members of the Society; or

b. To demand even of the present members a new admission-fee of £10 or £5 respectively, in case a widower married a wife more than five years younger than himself.

The second proposition was generally considered too harsh; but to bring the matter to a settlement, three questions were asked:

1. Shall, in case of a second marriage, a new admission-fee be charged? Nobody voted in the affirmative.
2. Shall he pay one-half of the first payment additionally? Only nineteen members out of forty-four present, were in favor of this proposition.
3. Shall he pay, for every year of difference in the age between himself and his second wife, 10 sh. for the first class, and 5 sh. for the second, additional? Twenty-five votes were cast for this proposition, which was therefore adopted, but was to remain in force only for two years, after which time the matter was to be reconsidered.

Bro. Wiesinger, whose second wife was fifteen years younger than himself, was, at once, willing to pay the additional sum, so as to make up the £7 10*s.* required of him according to this decision. But the members present evidently felt that it was an unpleasant thing to go back on their own record. However it was stated that the resolution of the former meeting had been passed after the meeting had adjourned, and it was resolved "that, in the future, nothing should be determined, after the members had risen from their seats." As to new members received, it was agreed that they should always pay a new admission-fee in full, whenever a re-marriage occurred.

Nine poor widows of the Widows' House, by resolution of the same meeting, received together a semi-annual dividend of the first class, (this time by a majority-vote,) and Sister Popellwell received her share of this extra dividend in addition to her own £7 10*s.*; but the request of some Brethren to "give her still a little more" was not granted. The record of the meeting closes with the benediction: "Grace and peace be with us, and with all our dear Brethren in all places."

The Year 1774.

Of the July meeting in 1773, the only noteworthy occurrence was the passing of a resolution to have a box made containing a number of black and white balls, for the purpose of voting. This box was presented at the January meeting

of 1774 and contained 108 balls; the black balls were to be used for a negative and the white for an affirmative vote. These balls were used at this very meeting to decide of which class the dividend to the poor widows should be made for that year, and twenty-four white balls against sixteen black ones decided that it should be of the first class. The Society then numbered one hundred and fifty-two members and five annuity widows. The assets amounted to £1752. J. Oberlin, heretofore one of the Stewards, was elected Treasurer and Secretary, in place of C. F. Oerter, who declined re-election, and Timothy Horsfield became one of the Stewards in Oberlin's place. It may be mentioned in this connection that, from its organization to the present day, the Widows' Society has been very conservative, and has re-elected its officers as long as possible.

Raising the admission fee.

The peculiar arrangment which required new members to pay back interest and arrearages of contributions lasted only until January, 1775, when it was abolished. But instead of it, every new member was required to pay an entrance-fee of £15 for the first class, and £7.10 for the second (instead of £10 and £5 as heretofore); the half-yearly tax or contribution of 5 sh. or 2 sh. 6d. continued. The other resolution that a widower who married a second wife, more than five years younger than himself, should pay 10 sh. (or 5 sh., when of the second class) additional for every year of the difference, was re-affirmed; but the entire arrangement was still considered a temporary one, to remain in force only for the next five years. The Brethren knew that they must learn by experience.

Status in 1776.

The status of the Society at the close of the first five years of its existence will be seen from the following table:

	Members.	*Widows.*	*Capital.*	*Dividends.*
January 1771	110	none	£925	£15 a year.
" 1772	124	1	1353	
" 1773	147	2	1564	
" 1774	152	6	1752	
" 1775	157	6	1932	
" 1776	155	8	2011	

Of the one hundred and fifty-five members on January 1, 1776, one hundred and twenty-seven belonged to the first, and twenty-nine to the second class. As there were but eight widows, and the capital brought an interest of about £120, there seemed to be no direct necessity for either increasing the entrance-fee, or for paying an

annual contribution; but the Brethren of the Society had sufficient forethought to provide for future necessities, and well it was that they did so.

SECOND PERIOD.

THE TIME FROM 1776 TO 1816. FORTY YEARS OF PLODDING AND PATIENT LABOR.

The Revolutionary War.

The premonitions of the first storm which the good ship of the Brethren's Widows' Society encountered on its voyage, came down upon them during the Revolutionary War. Our Brethren, as is well known, did not greet the dawn of American Independence with special joy or enthusiasm. Not that they were Tories; they had the welfare of the country at heart, but they considered it their first duty to obey the powers that be. Two days before the declaration of Independence, on July 2, 1776, the usual half-yearly meeting was held, but it was particularly short, and without any sign of special enthusiasm for the dawn of Liberty.

At the January meeting of 1777, the only remark in reference to the political events of the time, found in the minutes, is the following: "It being impossible at present to put money on interest, new members will give their notes on demand, instead of paying cash." We must remember that, in the month of December of 1776, the Army Hospital with two hundred and fifty sick and wounded, was established at Bethlehem, and remained there for several months. During the first six months of that year, seven new widows were added, and by January, 1778, the Society had fifteen annuity-widows of the first class and three of the second, in all eighteen. In view of this fact, it was resolved,

1. To lower the annuities from £15 and £7 10*s*. to £12 and £6 respectively, as provided in § 13 of the Constitution.
2. To increase the ordinary half-yearly contribution by 1 sh. 6d. or 9 d. respectively, for every member of the Society; with the prospect that this increase of the annual contributions would be necessary for a number of years to come.

From other sources we learn that, during the last three months of the year 1777, the town of Bethlehem sacrificed £1500 for the American army, and that, by the end of the year, seven hundred of the sick and wounded were brought to Bethlehem, of whom nearly three hundred died in the course of the Winter.

Gradation of ages.

By January of 1780, it was found that the number of widows entitled to an annuity had increased to twenty-seven, while the membership had decreased from one hundred and fifty-seven to one hundred and thirty-six. It then became plain that it would again be necessary to increase the extraordinary annual assessment by a considerable amount, in order to meet the demands required for annuities. To avoid this difficulty, it was proposed to raise the additional amount by charging higher entrance-fees for new members. Hence different grades, according to the age of the applicant, were proposed and accepted. New members of the first class were required to pay the following amounts:

Those between the age of	20–30	£15
" "	30–35	16
" "	35–40	17
" "	40–45	18
" "	45–50	20
" "	50–55	23
" "	55–60	28

The provision, in all these cases, was that the wife of the applicant be not more than four years younger than himself. In case she were more than four years younger than her husband, it was resolved unanimously, that an additional payment be demanded, according to the following scale:

If 4–5	years younger.	20*s.*
" 5–6	"	£ 2
" 6–7	"	3
" 7–8	"	4
" 10–11	"	7
" 13–14	"	10
" 15–16	"	14
" 18–19	"	20
" 19–20	"	22

These requirements, surely, made it desirable for a Brother who intended to take to himself a better half, to first ask the delicate question about her age, before he asked another more important question.

Article 11 abolished.

Finally that unfortunate § 11, relating to the remarrying of a widower, was again attacked. All new members received since 1773, had been deprived of the privilege, which it granted to those who had joined the Society previous to that date. Now it was resolved to rescind it altogether, as being "very

detrimental to the success of the Society." But, as the old members of the Society could only be deprived of their right to remarry without paying a new entrance-fee, if they voluntarily resigned this privilege, and thus consented to be placed on an equal footing with those who had joined after 1773, it was resolved to draw up an agreement to this effect, and to request the old members to sign it. Among Brethren such proceedings were permitted, and at the next meeting it was reported that the agreement had been signed by the Brethren, "with the exception of a few."

Lack of Funds, 1781.

The January Meeting of 1781 is the first meeting of which it is reported that it was opened by the singing of a hymn. Whether this had been done from the beginning and had merely not been mentioned in the record, before this time, or whether the Brethren felt that harder times were coming, and that they needed a special blessing to help them through the coming struggle, we cannot decide. At the next meeting, the wish was expressed that members of the Society should not frighten away new applicants, by telling them of the high contributions which they would be expected to pay, but should, as much as possible, encourage young couples to join the Association.

In the same year a special meeting was called, at which the Stewards or Directors communicated the following facts: Of the capital stock, amounting, in all, to £2276, the largest portion, viz. £2110, was in the hands of the Brethren Nath. Seidel, the Proprietor, and H. C. von Schweinitz, the Administrator, in trust for the Bethlehem "Diacony." The Diacony acted nobly towards the Society, as, according to law, it might have paid its debt in "Congress money," but had preserved the capital of the Society at its full value, and had also paid the interest regularly to the day, "which is not customary in this country," says the record. Nevertheless the Stewards had asked the Diacony to pay, in the future, 6 per cent. interest on this capital, instead of 5 per cent. as heretofore, but this request had been refused. Now it would require £157 to pay a semi-annual dividend of £6 to twenty-two widows of the first class, and of £3 to five widows of the second, whereas the cash on hand amounted to but £57. Hence £100 would have to be raised by contributions, and it was to be expected that many of the members would rather leave the Society, than go on in this manner. The only way out of the difficulty seemed to be, to have

the articles of the constitution altered, as a similar institution in England, viz. the Brethren's Widows' Society in London, had already done.

No Fixed Annuities.

It was, therefore, proposed to have the annual contribution fixed, without regard to the number of widows to be provided for, and to distribute the amount thus raised together with the interest of the capital. This proposition seemed very acceptable indeed, provided the widows were willing to consent to such an arrangement. The good Sisters were equal to the emergency, though it was no small sacrifice which they made. In reply to a letter from Bro. Ettwein, the President of the Stewards or Board of Directors, to a Sister Langgaard, the latter, in the name of the "Society-Widows" of Bethlehem, declared that they were perfectly satisfied with any arrangement which the Brethren saw fit to make, if only the Society continued to exist. Bro. Ettwein also who, in that year, on the death of Bishop Nathanael Seidel, was appointed his successor, in a letter addressed to the General Meeting expressed himself as well pleased with this plan. Thereupon it was unanimously resolved to accept the above proposition, and the semi-annual contribution was fixed at 5 sh. for the first class and half that amount for the second.

Accordingly at the July meeting of 1782 the half-yearly dividend for widows of the first class amounted only to £3 8*s.* 7*d.* (about $9.15), and for widows of the second class to £1 14*s.* 3½*d.* The Bethlehem Diacony, remembering that "a long pull and a strong pull and a pull altogether" was needed, now consented to pay 6 per cent. interest on the capital, "in the hope that other creditors would not make the same demand, as it was done with a real loss to themselves and merely out of compassion for the widows."

A slight additional tax was imposed upon the members of the Society, in order to raise a compensation for the Treasurer. Up to that time the labor of keeping the accounts and writing the Minutes had been done altogether gratuitously. But as the new Treasurer, Bro. Hasse, complained that the work took up more of his time than he could well spare, since he was compelled to work for the support of his family, the Brethren thought it but fair for each member to pay a half-yearly contribution of 6*d.* and 3*d.* (second class), towards paying the Treasurer and furnishing the stationery.

John de Watteville, 1785.

The January meeting of 1785 was honored by the presence of "our dear Bro. Johannes" (John de Watteville) who had come from Germany on an official visit to the churches in America. After the singing of several "*Segens-Verse*" he assured the Brethren of the pleasure which the Unity's Elders' Conference in Germany took in "this laudable and godly institution." He said, they had thought from the beginning that the first plan of paying a fixed annuity could not be adhered to for any length of time, but hoped that the present arrangement would work well, and that the widows had expressed themselves perfectly satisfied with the new plan. He wished the Society: God-speed! Unfortunately, "because of the bad roads," only twenty-three members attended this meeting. This small attendance also prevented the Brethren present from making a contemplated change of the rules, in regard to the admission fee, since the constitution declared that "no very important matters shall be determined, if there be not, at least, twenty-five members present." January certainly was not a suitable month for holding the principal meeting, as bad roads during the winter, might, in the neighborhood of Bethlehem, be considered the rule rather than an exception. But to drop the January meeting altogether was not deemed desirable. Up to that time the election of officers to serve for the ensuing year had always been held in January; now it was resolved to hold the elections in July and at noonday, so that Brethren from Nazareth also might have an opportunity to attend and to cast their votes.

No Gradation of ages.

The change contemplated at the January meeting, but deferred until summer, had reference to the gradation of ages made in 1780. The Brethren seem to have been of the opinion that five years were long enough for one constitutional period, and that, at the end of every five years, a new experiment might be tried. Thus the gradation plan was now disapproved, and especially that portion which related to the additional payment to be made in consequence of the difference of age between husband and wife. Why should the Society intrude into the privacy of family-affairs and inquire about the age of every Sister at the time of her marriage? No more questions of that kind were to be asked. All new applicants who were not above 45 years of age should pay the sum of £15 for the first class, and

£7 10*s.* for the second, whether their wives were young or old; those above 45 years should pay 5*s.* (if of the first class) and 2*s.* 6*d.* (if of the second) additional for every year. Widowers, when marrying again should be required to pay £10 for the first class and £5 for the second, additional entrance-fee.

Decrease in members.

The principal object in making these changes was, evidently, to encourage new members to join the Society. With the same purpose in view, it was resolved to prepare a short circular setting forth the principles and aims of the Association, which might be read in a special meeting of the married Brethren of Bethlehem, and a copy of which could be sent to Nazareth, Lititz, Hope (N. J.), and to Wachovia. The latter resolution was carried out, but it proved an unsuccessful attempt at making the Society more attractive, as was then supposed, "mostly on account of the scarcity of money." Indeed the membership constantly decreased, while the number of the widows increased, as one after the other of the first members of the Association departed. The following table will show the gradual decrease or increase during the fifteen years from 1777 to 1792:

	Members.	*Widows.*	*Capital.*	*Dividends. (First Class.)*
January 1776	155	8	£2011	£15
" 1778	146	18	2170	12
" 1780	136	29	2240	12
" 1782	124	31	2276 15s	6
" 1784	111	37	2311 15	5 15s
July 1786	91	42	2331 15	5 6
" 1788	86	39	2341 15	5 4
" 1790	72	44	2356 15	4 16 6d
" 1792	64	45	2518 12	4 14 4

The foregoing statement shows that the capital of the Society increased but slowly. Within a period of sixteen years, from 1776–1792 only £500 were added to the capital, while the number of widows increased by thirty-seven. The annuity accordingly decreased from $40.00 in 1776 to about $12.60 in 1792, for the first class, and $6.30 for the second. The second class, by the way, had hardly any new accessions, and at the July meeting of 1791 it was reported that no new second class members were to be expected.

Not discouraged.

But the Brethren did not lose courage, as we see from the following items. In 1786, ten years after the Declaration of Independence, the July meeting was held on the Fourth of July. The minutes begin with the words, "See the texts of the day," which, by referring to a copy of the Text-book

of that year, we find to read as follows: "Thou shalt be a crown of glory in the hand of the Lord, and a royal diadem in the hand of thy God," (Isaiah lxii, 3.), and "A father of the fatherless and a judge (defender) of the widows, is God in His holy habitation." (Psalm lxviii, 5.) With regard to the election of officers the record merely says: "Es bleibt beim Alten," and then closes with these words: "In lieblicher Harmonie und mit dem Vers: Sprich ja zu unsern Thaten, wurde die Versammlung geschlossen." That was a Fourth of July celebration in the old Brethren's style!

In 1790 the Brethren received a timely encouragement in the shape of a legacy of £100 currency, bequeathed by the departed Bro. Matthew Graeff, but unfortunately then equal in value to but £10 2*s.* specie (?).

The 20th anniversary, 1791.

In July of 1791, it was remembered that the Society was now twenty years old. Of the original seventy-four members who had formed the nucleus of the Society, thirty were still alive, but seven of them were widowers. At the close of the first ten years there had been twenty-seven widows; now there were forty-two, of whom twenty-five resided at Bethlehem. Twenty-one widows had departed, and eleven had remarried. The first widow, Sister Poppellwell, still enjoyed the benefit of the annuities, as she had done for the previous nineteen years.

The Brethren resolved to celebrate the twentieth Anniversary of the Society by making a fresh effort at gaining new members. It was agreed to send a circular to all the congregations, which would explain what the Society was doing, and encourage the members of the Church to join it. This circular stated that, at that time, an annuity-widow received an annual dividend of about £5, which would be equal to the interest of £100 at 5 per cent., while the premium or admission-fee, together with all the contributions, would scarcely ever reach the sum total of £60, as the amount paid in by any member of the Society. There could be no doubt, therefore, that it was a good investment which applicants for membership made; and it was worth while to join the Association, even if a man was not moved to do so by the unselfish desire to help along a good cause.

In order to extend a special invitation to younger members of the Church, the admission-fee, which in 1785 had been fixed at £15 for all those whose age, at the time of admission, did not ex-

ceed forty-five years, was again lowered for younger applicants, viz.: Those less than thirty years of age would be required to pay £10 only, those between thirty and thirty-five £12 10*s.* and those between thirty-five and forty-five £15.

The annual contributions abolished.

As some Brethren objected to the paying of annual contributions, the circular stated that, if any members preferred to pay a certain fixed sum and nothing more afterwards, the Society was not disinclined to entertain such a proposition. Finally it was agreed that, if, within the next year, ten new members could be gained, the regular contribution of members should be lowered from 5 sh. (first class) to 2 sh. 6d. half-yearly payment. In consequence of these milder conditions and of special efforts made by some of the members, the required ten new members actually applied and the contribution was accordingly lowered. One new member, Thomas Bartow of Philadelphia, was accepted on the terms that he would pay £5 5*s.* additional entrance-fee, instead of the usual annual contributions. In his case the sum total of his admission fee amounted to $60. When other members offered to do the same, it was resolved that any Brother, by paying £5 additional, should be absolved from all further payments.

Thus the Brethren, by their careful, conservative, and yet liberal and sensible way of proceeding, made another step in the direction of establishing the Society on its present solid foundation. They sowed the seed in faith and patient hope, though it was only the next generation that reaped the full harvest.

Hard times.

For many years the membership, in spite of the hopeful increase during the years 1791–92, constantly decreased, so that the number of widows, though it did not increase, became larger even than the actual membership, as the following figures will tell:

	Members.	*Widows.*	*Capital.*	*Dividends.*
July 1792	64	45	£2518 12s	£4 14 4
" 1794	59	48	2613 17 4d	3 17 6 or $10.33
" 1796	57	46	2632 2 4	10.70
" 1798	56	46	2813 2 4	11.00
" 1800	52	42	2838 2 4	12 25
" 1802	44	45	2882 2 4	12.12½
" 1804	41	47	2953 2 4	11.25
" 1806	36*	43	3031 17 4	12.83
" 1808	32	39	3031 17 4	13.25
" 1810	27	34	3031 17 4	14 25
" 1812	23	34	3031 17 4	15.50
" 1814	25	32	$8427.90	17.25
" 1816	29	28	8973.01	19.75

* All of the First Class.

In 1794 and 1795 the yearly dividend reached the lowest point; for it was less than £4. Some Brethren proposed, as an extreme remedy, that no new members should be received, until a sufficient number of widows had died, to allow the annuity again to increase to the original amount of £15 or $40. This proposition was not accepted, though the time was approaching, when, without any such resolution being passed, no applications for admission were made. Other Brethren took a more hopeful view of the state of affairs. Bro. Klingsohr, one of the ministers of the Bethlehem congregation and himself a member, on different occasions, wished the Society a "blessed progress" (gesegneten Fortgang), in spite of the apparently hopeless condition. In reality there was no cause for despair, since the capital of the Society was unimpaired and the dividends were sure to increase, as the number of those between whom the interest was to be divided would grow less with every successive year.

Some encouragement, 1797.

From time to time the fainting hopes of the despondent were revived by new signs of life. Thus the year 1797 brought an unexpected accession of six new members from Wachovia, whereupon the Brethren "thanked God and took courage;" for they closed the meeting by singing: "Kann man was Gut's thun, man thut's gern, und dankt es unserm lieben Herrn." In this year also the nineteen members who attended the January meeting determined, that in the future they would have the half-yearly contributions collected on the day previous to the one on which the meeting was held, so that each member could be personally invited and urged to attend the General meeting. It was correctly presumed that, by showing more interest themselves, they might awaken more interest in others. From the year 1800 on, the January meeting was dispensed with as being unnecessary, and but one regular meeting a year has since been held.

The second Legacy.

About the same time the second legacy came into the hands of the Society. Bro. Timothy Horsfield, a former member, who died in 1789, at the age of 81 years, had bequeathed £25 towards a new church-building in Bethlehem, with the provision that, if the new church was not erected within ten years from the time of his death, the money should pass into the treasury of the Widows' Society. As the ten years had elapsed, and no new church had been built, the widows received the benefit of his

legacy. The total assets, including this legacy, then amounted to £2838, or about $7568.00; after all, an increase, during the last ten years of £500; for in 1789 it was only £2341. The reckoning according to the new monetary system of dollars and cents appears, for the first time, side by side with pounds and shillings in 1791, when Bro. Christian R. Heckewelder had been elected Treasurer. After the beginning of the present century the dividends were generally reckoned according to the new system, but in giving the assets of the Society the reckoning in pounds continued until about 1816.

New Members.

In 1805 four new recruits enlisted at the annual meeting, viz., the Brethren David Bischoff, Abraham Levering, Samuel Steup, and Matthew Eggert, whereat there was great rejoicing in the camp, and one of the new champions of widowhood was at once honored, by being elected one of the officers. The Board of Stewards or Directors elected or re-elected at that meeting consisted of the following Brethren: Treasurer and Secretary, J. F. Peter; Stewards, H. Lindemeyer, Tobias Bœckel, Matthew Eggert, Joseph Horsfield, John Weiss all of Bethlehem, and J. Ljungberg of Nazareth. But such small, occasional additions could not make up for the continued thinning out of the ranks. In 1808, when there were thirty-two members and thirty-nine widows in charge of the Society, the Treasurer, Bro. J. F. Peter, was requested to write a brief essay or article setting forth the object and the principles of the Society, as had been done in 1785 and 1791. Thereupon not only the Treasurer, but also the Brethren Joseph Horsfield and Eggert each wrote such an article, which it was proposed should be merged into one, and either read publicly, in a meeting of all the married Brethren, in the different congregations, or, if the ministers did not approve of this plan, circulated in Bethlehem and other Moravian settlements. As to the effect this circular had, we are not informed, but it certainly brought no great increase in membership.

Severe struggle, 1809.

In 1809 there were only twenty-seven members, and in 1812 the decline reached its lowest point with twenty-three members and thirty-four widows. The end of the Society seemed to be near at hand. The good ship, after many a brave struggle, was apparently completely ice-bound, and no open sea could be discerned. Was a ship with such a precious cargo to be abandoned?

The Society had in its possession seven Bonds and a Deed of Mortgage from Bro. Seidel, amounting in all to £2100; also three Bonds with seven Additions, from Bro. John Schropp, (Warden of the Bethlehem Congregation from 1790 to 1805), amounting to £703; and one Bond, with one Addition, from Bro. Schropp's successor, Bro. Youngberg, amounting to £218; making a total of £3031.

In 1809, the new Warden of the Bethlehem Diacony, Bro. Stadiger, declared that the Diacony could no longer afford to pay 6 per cent. on this capital. But the representatives of the Widows' Society were not willing to give up. They resolved either to insist on the further payment of 6 per cent., or else to demand that the entire capital should be paid back at once. They knew well that the Diacony was not ready to pay the entire sum immediately; "but should the money be paid, it could be invested in bank shares, for instance in the bank which had just opened a branch at Easton." The Warden made another proposition, based upon the supposition that the Society was about to die out. He offered to pay 6 per cent. interest in case the capital was made over to him as a "Leibrente" or life-interest, so that the interest would be paid to the Society, as long as any members of the Society or their widows were living, but the capital itself would never be returned. This offer, however, was indignantly declined. The Society declared that, in the first place, at least 8 and not 6 per cent. interest ought to be given for money loaned on "life-interest," and that, in the second place, they would wait five or more years longer to see, whether the Association was actually going to die or not, before they accepted such a proposition.

Fighting manfully, 1811.

One reason for the constant diminution in membership must have been the general scarcity of money. At the beginning of 1811, the Stewards suggested that older members of the Society might assist their children in their efforts to buy a share in the Society, by giving their bond for such of them who entered the state of matrimony, instead of paying cash for them. They would then be required only to pay half-yearly interest on those bonds, until the principal itself was paid. It also happened about that time, that an aged brother, Philip Thomas, on account of absolute poverty, became unable to pay his semi-annual contribution of three shillings (40 cents.) As the Brethren thought

it too hard, to exclude the old man from the Society simply because he was too poor, they agreed that his dues should be paid for him on credit, and, after his death, be deducted from the annuity of his widow. A marginal note in the minutes seems to indicate that the Treasurer, Bro. Peter, really paid this money out of his own private means, and that the widow afterwards received her full annuity. The Treasurer's fee, at that time, amounted to about £2 or $5.33 per year.

In 1812, the same year which saw the membership of the Society reduced to the smallest number it ever reached, viz., twenty-three, the oldest and first annuity-widow, Sister Eliza Poppellwell, died, after having enjoyed the benefits of the Society for fully forty years. By her death a landmark in the history of the Society was removed.

Signs of new life, 1812.

A brighter time for the Association was coming, slowly but surely. The ice which had held the vessel bound for a number of years, broke at last, and in a few years the good old ship was again able to hoist its sails on its voyage of beneficence. Not only came applications from four Brethren at once to become members, but in the next year, 1813, the minutes show decided signs of greater activity on the part of the Society. Bro. Matthew Eggert was elected Treasurer and Secretary. At a special meeting a committee of three was appointed, to look over the minutes from the beginning, for the purpose of making a compilation of all such additions and alterations of the rules, as had from time to time, been resolved upon; which additions were to be printed and a copy of them handed to every member. The committee consisted of Bro. Owen Rice, jr., then a young man of 25 years, who had joined the Society a few days previously, Bro. Gebhard Cunow and the Secretary, Bro. Eggert. As it was found that several members had never signed the rules, the delinquents did so at once. Furthermore it was resolved that the number of members present at the annual meetings should again be stated in the minutes; for this also had been neglected for some time, no doubt, because sometimes so few attended that it did not seem worthwhile to record their number. At least at the July meeting of 1814, when this new resolution went into effect, not more than ten members out of twenty-five were recorded as present. Finally it was determined that, in the future, the account of receipts and expenditures, to-

gether with the statement of the assets of the Society, should be written in a separate book, and not merely given in the minutes, as had been done previously. In consequence of the increased labor imposed upon the member who held the office of both Secretary and Treasurer, the Society voted him an annual compensation of $10, in place of the shilling per member which he had formerly received. As the Brethren had, meanwhile, discovered that their rules, properly speaking, allowed no compensation to the Treasurer as such, these $10 were given him under the head of Secretary's fees.

A Legacy, 1815.

In 1815 the Society, for the third time, inherited a legacy, of £100, left by Bro Detmers, formerly a Warden of the Bethlehem Diacony and a member of the Society. His widow had received the interest of this legacy during the years that she lived after his death, and only after her decease was the amount paid over to the Widows' Society. This little legacy gave rise to a brief unpleasantness, the only thing of the kind which the history of the Society records. As the money was handed over nearly one year after the death of Sister Detmers, the Stewards thought that interest should be paid on it from the day of her death, but the executor, Bro. Cunow, was of the opinion that the year's interest belonged to the estate left by Bro. Detmers. At the next annual meeting the Brethren assembled, gave it as their general opinion that, according to the laws of the country, the interest ought to be paid, and delegated two of their Stewards, the Brethren Owen Rice and Steup to confer with Bro. Cunow and to come to an understanding. But Bro. Cunow did not yield his point, and, at the next meeting, the Brethren dropped the matter, "because nothing more could be done." That the question was in some way settled to the satisfaction of the Society, appears from the fact that, at the following meeting, Bro. Cunow was elected one of the Stewards and received more votes than any of the other candidates elected.

Proposition to procure a charter.

The attention of the members was now drawn to the important proposition made at this meeting, to have the Society incorporated. It was stated that the capital now amounted to $8785.67, and that it was very desirable to procure a charter, mainly because without such an incorporation there was danger of the property of the Society falling into the hands of

the State, in case the Society should cease to exist. This the Brethren desired to prevent under all circumstances. But how different matters went than had been expected they would go! When the Society was founded, it was declared that an incorporation would be necessary, as soon as the membership had increased to two hundred. The Widows' Society had existed for forty-five years, without that event ever coming to pass, and now it was proposed to incorporate it, because there was danger of its dying out. This proposition to procure a charter, however, marks the beginning of a new period in the history of the Society.

THIRD PERIOD.

THE TIME FROM 1816 TO 1879. SIXTY-FOUR YEARS OF UNINTERRUPTED PROSPERITY.

Rapid growth.

The third period of the Society's history may rightly be dated from the year 1816, not only, because the proposition to have the Society incorporated was made in that year, but also, because *ten* Brethren from Lititz, besides several more from Bethlehem, applied for admission. This increase was not, as in former years, the result of a special and sporadic effort, but it marked the beginning of a regular, and at the same time, rapid growth, which continued for many years in succession. The following table will show the increase during the first twenty years of the new era:

	Members.	*Widows.*	*Capital.*	*Dividends.*
July 1816	29	28	$8,973.01	$19.75
" 1818	44	24	9,772.36	24.50
" 1820	63	19	11,103.74	27.00
" 1822	71	23	11,898.40	30.00
" 1824	81	22	12,739.40	37.50
" 1826	90	26	13,609.40	34.50
" 1828	95	31	14,260.40	31.00
" 1830	113	31	15,397.40	31.00
" 1832	117	32	16,463.40	33.50
" 1834	124	37	17,855.40	33.00
" 1836	146	38	19,697.40	31.50

This table reveals the following facts: The membership increased, within twenty years, from twenty-nine to one hundred and forty-six, while in consequence of the large accessions of mostly younger men, the number of widows increased but slowly. The capital was more than doubled within those twenty years, and the annuities, though varying somewhat in different years, were much larger, than they had been for a long time.

Incorporation of the Society.

The all-absorbing subject of interest, during the first years of the new epoch, was the incorporation of the Society; so absorbing indeed that, for several years, in the minutes of the proceedings, not even the number of members nor the number of the widows belonging to the Association are mentioned. But the Brethren were too cautious to precipitate their new plan. At the annual meeting of 1817, more than one year after this thought had first been ventilated, a vote was first taken on the question, whether the majority of the members really desired the incorporation. Twenty voted aye, and one, no. Thereupon a committee was appointed, whose duty it should be to make the necessary preparations, particularly in the way of revising the articles and rules of the Society.

Bro. O. Rice, who in 1813 had been requested to compile the additions to the original articles, had, for several years in succession, been unable to find the necessary time to do so. But now the Society was in earnest about it. The committee appointed, consisted of the Brn. J. F. Stadiger, Joseph Rice, Matthew Eggert, J. G. Cunow, and J. F. Rauch.

In 1818 a number of special meetings of the Society were held, at which the articles of the constitution, as revised by the committee, were read and discussed. The Brethren at Bethlehem and Nazareth at once signified their willingness to accept these revised rules, but the Brethren at Lititz desired to have several changes made in the wording of different articles, and Bro. Cunow declared himself willing to act as their advocate and to vote for them by proxy.

The first question which had to be settled, was whether Bro. Cunow in voting should be allowed to cast one vote for each member from Lititz, viz., eleven votes in all, or whether he should only have one vote to cast for them all. The latter was decided upon. Then the new constitution was read. With regard to the title, the members at Lititz desired to have "The Widows' Society of Bethlehem" changed into "The Widows' Society, Members of the United Brethren of Pennsylvania" (?). But only three votes, besides the Lititz-vote, were in the affirmative, and seventeen in the negative.

The different articles were one by one discussed, and some of them altered, the main interest being awakened by the contents of

that paragraph which now constitutes Article X., and which begins as follows: "It is unalterably and irrevocably decreed that if any unforeseen accident or other cause should ever occasion a dissolution of this Society," etc. This "unalterable and irrevocable" was directed against any future propositions similar to that of taking the capital of the Society on "Leib-Rente."

On the 4th of February the new constitution, as a whole, was adopted unanimously. A number of by-laws also were read and adopted at this meeting, though there were but seventeen members present. Then a lawyer, Mr. Sitgreaves, was consulted and, at his suggestion, some further additions and alterations were made.

In 1819, the members of the Society living at a distance were requested to send a power of attorney, so that the new constitution might be signed in their name; but propositions for new alterations were still discussed and sometimes adopted until the Spring of 1821, when the Society was informed that its constitution, with several amendments made by the Legislature, had been adopted by both Senate and House, and that the Society was now incorporated. All further propositions for changes were then laid on the table. Mr. Sitgreaves made no charges for his services, and earned a hearty vote of thanks from the members of the Society. For precisely fifty years had the Society been in existence, before it was incorporated.

During the four years, while the negotiations for procuring a charter were in progress, a number of other changes took place. The Directors (as they were now styled) chosen in 1818 were the following: Joseph Rice, David Bischoff, Samuel Steup, John Schneider, Frederick Rauch, Christian Borhek of Bethlehem and Chas. Schropp of Lititz; Treasurer, J. H. Schulz; Secretary, Matthew Eggert; Auditors, Joseph Horsfield, J. F. Stadiger and Christian Eggert. The office of Secretary was now separated from that of Treasurer; the former received an annual compensation of $5, while the Treasurer was expected to be willing to do his work for nothing.

A Seal for the Society.

It was proposed to have made for the Society a seal, of the size of a Spanish dollar, with the inscription: "The Widows' Society of Bethlehem," and further ornamented by the figure of a weeping woman under a willow-tree, to whom a man hands a gift; as a motto the reference, Job. xxix, 13. was

to be written on it. Bro. Samuel Reinke, then of Lititz, was the artist who executed this design. As to the material of which the seal should be made, the President of the Board of Directors, after making the necessary inquiry, reported that a seal of wood would cost $10, of metal $30, and of steel $100–$130, whereupon he was instructed to "have one made, but not of the most expensive kind."

One admission fee for all, 1818.

The question, how much admission-fee new members must pay, was, in 1818, settled definitely and to general satisfaction by the following resolution, "That, in the future, every applicant for membership, without regard to his own or his wife's age, shall pay $50, and nothing more thereafter." The few old members who at the time of their admission had paid in less than $50 entrance-fee, were given the choice, either to continue paying their annual contribution or to pay what was wanting to make their admission-fee equal to $50. The only change which was afterwards made, in regard to this Article, was the resolution passed in 1824, that applicants who at the time of their application are above fifty years shall pay $1 additional for each year above fifty.

New Investment of Capital.

With regard to the capital of the Society, in 1817, the Directors stated that the bulk of it, viz., $8,100 were still held by the Bethlehem Diacony, but that the mortgage originally given by Bro. Nathanael Seidel on 700 acres of land, as security for £1000, had become entirely void and without value, because of the many changes which had since been made in regard to this matter; and the sums loaned to the Diacony at later times were not secured by any mortgage. Though the Brethren entertained not the least fear with regard to the safety of the investment, still it was thought that the time had come for investing the funds of the Society differently. Several smaller sums had already been loaned to Bro. Owen Rice, who was then Treasurer of the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. In 1818, the Warden of the congregation, Bro. Stadiger, paid a bond of $1,032 with interest, and for this amount Easton Bank shares were bought at $32 per share. This, so far as we know, was the first investment in Loans and Stocks ever made by the Widows' Society. In May of 1819 Bro. Stadiger again paid $1,067.90, which were invested in United States' 6 per cent. Loan; and in July of the same year $1000 more, obtained from the ad-

mission-fees of new members, were invested in the same way. The Brethren were very anxious to buy no Loan or Stock above par, and it was agreed, at the General Meeting of 1819, that whenever Loans or Stocks had to be bought above par, they should be booked at par, and the difference be entered as "loss," but when bought below par, they should be booked as bought. In 1821, this United States Loan was sold, because it stood considerably above par, and $2,400 were loaned out, on first mortgage, to Caspar Mayer, who owned three farms in the neighborhood of Bethlehem. In 1823 and 1824 the Diacony paid off the rest of the capital loaned to it, amounting to $6000. This whole amount was loaned to Bro. Owen Rice, who gave for it the first mortgage on his mill-property. The proposition to invest at least a part of it in a United States' Loan was rejected, because this Loan stood 4½ per cent. above par, and the Brethren were unwilling to buy above par.

Fame abroad.

After the Constitution of the Society had been revised, so that it seemed to allow of no further improvement, little of importance occurred in the history of the Association. In 1821, Bro. Jacob Rice was elected Treasurer and gave a bond of security, with a penalty of $2400, for the faithful performance of his duties. He remained in this office until July 1842, without receiving or asking for any compensation. The Society prospered and everything worked smoothly.

In 1825, a resolution was passed allowing European Brethren to become members of the Society, if at the time of their application, they were laboring as Missionaries in the West Indies, and at one time a great many Brethren from those Islands made application and were accepted. In 1836, even the Brethren in Germany expressed a desire to be admitted. A letter was received from Bro. Samuel Reichel, requesting the Society, in the name of the General Synod assembled at Herrnhut, firstly, to allow all ministers of the Moravian church to join the Society; and, if that was impossible, secondly, at least to assist them in investing their funds in America. The first request was declined; with regard to the second, the advice was given to transact such business through the Administration of the Unity in America.

Annuities varying.

The large accessions of new members, at first swelled the dividends considerably and in 1825, the annuity reached the snug sum of $38. But, when the number of widows

to be cared for, began again to increase, as several of the new members departed, the dividend decreased accordingly, and has fluctuated, ever since, between $20 and $40, according as there is a larger or smaller number of those among whom the dividend is to be divided. Occasionally also the resources for making up the dividend flowed more scantily, when "hard times" came. For instance, in the fall of 1839 the Easton Bank, which a late Treasurer styled "the hen that laid the golden eggs for the Society," declared no dividend at all, and in the spring of the following year a dividend of only 3 per cent. The consequence was that the funds at the disposal of the Treasurer, in that year, were considerably smaller than for several years previous. About the same time there must have occurred a remarkable scarcity of small change; for the Directors felt compelled, for at least two years, to make the half-yearly dividend to be paid to every widow, exactly either $10 or $15, instead of $12 or $13, because no notes smaller than the value of $5 could be had.

In 1842 the minutes state that, by great efforts and sacrifice of his own interests, the Treasurer had succeeded in obtaining $500 in Easton Bank notes, "and as it is not worth while, under the present circumstances to pay to the widows anything else but Easton Bank notes or silver, the Directors are compelled to limit the dividend to ten dollars for this time."

Financial history since 1840.

A real loss, from either dishonesty or business failures, was never experienced by the Society. In September, 1843, Bro. O. Rice's mill was sold at sheriff's sale, but the purchaser, Mr. Unangst, at once paid $1,750, and the rest of the mortgage was paid off gradually. The bond given by the Treasurer at different times varied considerably in amount, according as the Board of Directors prescribed. Bro. W. Eberman, for instance, who was elected Treasurer in 1843, gave a bond for $3000; his successor, Bro. Matthew Krause, in 1847 gave a bond for only $500, but in 1849 increased it to $1000; in each case two of the Directors were the securities. At one time it was proposed to adopt a by-law to this effect: "The Treasurer shall execute a bond for an amount at least equal to the whole yearly income of dividends of stock and interest;" but the present reading of this by-law: "for such an amount, as shall be deemed sufficient by the Board of Directors," prevailed, and several Treasurers have held this

office, without being required to give any such bond. At the last Annual Meeting, however, held July 3, 1879, it was resolved, "that the second Section of the By-Laws in regard to the Treasurer giving bond for the faithful performance of his duty, be enforced."

Since the year 1847 the Treasurer again received an annual compensation or donation of $20, which, in 1867, was increased to $25, while the Secretaries, for a number of years, have rendered their services *gratis*. In 1860, the Constitution and By-Laws were once more revised by a committee and a new edition of the same printed.

In 1876, the General Meeting instructed the Board of Directors, "as soon as practicable, to dispose of the Bank and Railroad stocks, and to invest the funds of the Society in first mortgage Bonds, the Directors to use their judgment, to make such transfers as advantageously for the income of the Society, as possible;" and at a special meeting, convened in March, 1879, "the necessity of carrying out the aforesaid resolution was urged upon the Board of Directors and upon the Treasurer." This special meeting was called for the purpose of filling the vacancy caused by the departure of the late Treasurer, Bro. E. A. Frueauff, who served the Society from 1860 to 1865 as Secretary, and during the years 1865–68 and 1875–79 (January) as Treasurer. He was one of the most active officers and most zealous advocates, whose services the Society ever enjoyed.

Progress of the Society.

The progress which the Society made during the forty-four years from 1836–79, may be seen from the following table:

	Members.	*Widows.*	*Capital.*	*Dividends.*
July 1836	146	38	$19,697.40	$31.50
" 1839	146	46	20,792.40	29.00
" 1842	151	53	21,609.40	22.00
" 1845	165	54	22,163.07	24.50
" 1848	169	60	23,169.07	24.50
" 1851	175	68	24,541.07	23 00
" 1854	170	75	25,041.07	23.00
" 1857	180	70	26,054.07	26.00
" 1860	(?)	69	26,986.07	25.50
" 1863	173	65	27,424.07	27.00
" 1866	202	71	29,707.07	34.00
" 1869	(?)	60	30,936.15	40.00
" 1872	(?)	63	31,963.15	40.00
" 1875	225	73	33,996.15	40.00
" 1878	238	70	35,124.15	31.00
" 1879	230	75	35,274.15	34.00

In this table the following facts may be worth special notice: The number of widows, during the last forty years, has nearly

doubled, but the capital also is nearly twice as large as it was in 1836, so that the annual dividend has remained almost the same. The total of annuities paid, from 1836 to 1879, must be over $81,000. The membership has constantly increased until last year. From July 1878 to July 1879 but two new members were admitted. This fact is explained partly by the hard times, and partly by the establishment of the "Moravian Mutual Life Insurance Company," which demands an entrance-fee of but $6, while the Widows' Society's $50 seem, to many, a sum too large to invest at one time. But, surely, few societies may be found which demand only one payment of $50 and nothing more, and in return offer an annual dividend of from $30 to $40.

A few years ago the Secretary received a letter from a good old Moravian Sister who, though she had never been married, asked, whether she might not be received into the "Widows' Society." She thought, if she paid her $50 or a little more, the Directors might assume that her husband had died recently, and as she was already sixty years old, they might grant her the benefit of the annuity for the few remaining years of her life! This proposition could, of course, not be accepted; but it is an instance of how much this institution is appreciated by people who are excluded from its benefits.

The Society's Centennial, 1871.

On the 2d of January, 1871, the Centennial of this small but venerable Society, was celebrated with a Lovefeast, to which the widows of the Society and all the members, together with their wives, were invited. The Society surely had ample cause for thanksgiving; for the Lord God has blessed this institution abundantly, and has made it a blessing to many.

Statistics.

The total number of members who have joined the Widows' Society, from the time of its organization up to date, is seven hundred and twenty-seven. Of these, according to the official list of members as given in the minutes, two hundred and fifteen joined during the first thirty years, from 1770–1800; again exactly two hundred and fifteen during the next forty years, from 1800–1840, and two hundred ninety-seven from 1840 to date. But the official list has omitted one name in 1770, because of the striking similarity which exists between the record of two different persons, viz., John Michler and John Wolfgang Michler. Both entered on the same day, and both died in 1785, the one in June,

the other in October. John's wife was called Maria, and John Wolfgang's, Anna Maria, but Maria died in 1796 and Anna Maria in 1786. Apparently, in order to make up for this omission, during the last period, one name is entered twice, so that the total number of membership is not altered by these errors.

Although sixty years have always been considered the limit of age, beyond which no applicants should be received, there is one case on record of a Brother who joined when seventy-seven years old, namely, Bro. C. Frederick Kampmann, of Bethlehem, who signed the rules in September, 1823. The youngest member, Bro. Edward Rice, of Lititz, joined in 1834, at the age of twenty-one years. The veteran among the members of the Society now living, has been, for a number of years, Bro. Charles Tombler, who was admitted in 1824; the next oldest are Matthew Crist, and David Warner, who joined in 1828 and 1829.

About sixty members are ministers or missionaries, in active service or retired.

The total number of widows who have received annuities, since the organization of the Society, is three hundred and sixty-two, and twenty-four of them married again. As the total number of members of the Society who have departed this life, is seven hundred and twenty-seven less two hundred and thirty-one (the number of members now living), that is, four hundred and ninety-six, it would seem that three hundred and sixty-two Brethren preceded their wives to eternity, while one hundred and thirty-four members died as widowers. At the present time, however, there are only about twelve widowers among the two hundred and thirty-one members living, while there are seventy-six widows entitled to a share in the dividends of the Society.

The widow now living who has enjoyed the benefit of an annuity for the longest time, drew her first dividend in 1833, and has received to date $1360.00. Five others have received above $1000 each. The total amounts received by the seventy-one widows living in December 1877, since the departure of their husbands, aggregated $31,522.50. The grand total expended by the Society for annuities, from the time of its organization to the present day, is probably somewhat over $120,000.

The present officers of the Widows' Society are the following: *Directors*—J. C. Weber, C. A. Luckenbach, H. B. Luckenbach,

Simon Rau, Christian C. Belling, William Leibert, Henry S. Krause; *Treasurer*—Francis M. Rauch; *Secretary*—Augustus Schultze. The members living on Dec. 31, 1879, according to localities, are divided as follows:

BETHLEHEM:

Charles F. Beckel,
Augustus Belling,
Christian H. Belling,
Sylvester Belling,
5 Augustus S. Bishop,
Edwin P. Bishop,
Gilbert Bishop,
Ashton C. Borhek,
Frederick R. Borhek,
10 James T. Borhek,
Morris A. Borhek,
Cyrus E. Breder,
C. Otto Brunner,
William Chapman,
15 Henry G. Clauder,
Matthew Crist,
Daniel Desh,
W. Emil Doster,
Herman A. Doster,
20 Charles H. Eggert,
J. F. Erwin,
Ambrose J. Erwin,
Louis Eysenbach,
Theodore O. Fradeneck,
25 Henry Fuehrer,
Josiah George,
Francis A. Gerstner,
Lewis A. Gerlach,
Orville A. Greider,
30 M. Eugene Grunert,
Henry P. Hamman,
Nicholas Hauck,
Edward Jacobson,
Maurice C. Jones,
35 Edwin G. Klosè,
Edward T. Kluge,
Cornelius M. Knauss,
Jacob Kratzer,
Cornelius W. Krause,
40 Frank J. Krause,
Henry S. Krause,
Levin J. Krause,
J Samuel Krause,
C. Edward Kummer,
45 Bernhard E. Lehman,
Augustus H. Leibert,
Richard W. Leibert,
William Leibert,
F. W. Lelansky,
50 C. A. Luckenbach,
David O. Luckenbach,
John Edward Luckenbach,
Edward H. Luckenbach,
Henry B. Luckenbach,
55 Francis E. Luckenbach,
Jacob Luckenbach,
James S. Luckenbach,
Reuben O. Luckenbach,
Edward T. Meyers,
60 John M. Miksch,
B. Franklin Neisser,
Albert L. Oerter,
Edmund A. Oerter,
Lawrence F. Oerter,
65 G. W. Perkin,
C. Edward Peysert,
Robert Rau,
Simon Rau,
Ambrose H. Rauch,
70 C. W. Rauch,
Francis M. Rauch,
Reuben S. Rauch,
G. Herman Reck,
Joseph A. Rice,
75 W. Th. Rœpper,
Ambrose Rondthaler,
Augustus Schultze,
Henry A. Shultz,
Edmund de Schweinitz,
80 Robert de Schweinitz.
Henry Shelly,
Abraham S Schropp,
Jacob F. Siegmund,
Charles C. Tombler,
85 Joseph H. Træger,
Josiah Transue,
Benjamin Van Kirk,
J. C. Weber,

Edwin P. Wolle,
90 Francis Wolle,
Theodore F. Wolle,
John Wœrner,
Herman Yost,
94 Samuel Yost.

NAZARETH:

Henry T. Bachman,
Jacob H. Beck,
Josiah O. Beitel,
John F. Beitel,
5 Henry J. Bardill,
John C. Brickenstein,
Richard B. Crist,
C. R. Hœber,
Edward E. Hœber,
10 C. F. Hartman,
Gustav A. Kern,
C. F. Kluge,
Eugene Leibert,
J. C. Leibfried,
15 Levin F. Leibfried,
Abraham Lichtenthæler,
William L. Lennert,
Edmund Ricksecker,
John T. Warman,
20 David Warner.

LITITZ:

Abraham R. Beck,
Herman A. Brickenstein,
David Brunner,
F. W. Crist,
5 Jacob Diehm,
J. F. Fett,
George T. Greider,
Samuel E. Grosh,
Adam H. Hambright,
10 Allan Hamilton,
George W. Hepp,
M. T. Huebner,
Obadiah T. Huebner,
Ferdinand D. Rickert,
15 Henry Regennas,
Alexander Sturgis,
John Souders,
H. H. Tschudy,
Jacob Weitzel,
20 Nathaniel S. Wolle.

LANCASTER:

William N. Amer,
Henry Blickensderfer,
Abraham T. Beam,
Charles H. Kryder,
William E. Kreider,
6 Oliver T. Sturgis.

PHILADELPHIA:

Edwin M. Boring,
Alfred C. Crist,
J. Max Hark,
Francis Jordan,
5 John W. Jordan,
Charles Klosè,
Joseph H. Kummer,
Isaac L. Ritter,
Henry W. Rupp,
10 Massa M. Warner.

PENNSYLVANIA—(*Scattered.*):

Frank C. Stout, Audenried;
Charles W. Sturgis, Lewisburg;
Clement L. Reinke, Emmaus;
G. Henry Tombler, Easton;
5 James Henry, Schœneck;
John J. Regennas, Schœneck;
Joseph J. Albright, Scranton;
John Græff, Lebanon;
10 J. F. Frueauff, Columbia;
Samuel C. Wolle, Hokendauqua;
Lewis F. Kampmann, York;
John Evans, Wilkes-Barre;
C. W. Cooper, Pittsburg;
15 J. Augustus Beck, Harrisburg;
Jas. H. Wilhelm, Mauch Chunk;
Jacob B. Staufer, Manheim;
Philip F. Rommel, Hopedale.

NEW YORK:

William A. Lilliendahl,
Amadeus A. Reinke,
Gerhard Wessels,
W. H. Rice, Brooklyn.

NEW JERSEY:

Philip H. Gapp, Egg Harbor; John C. Israel, Palmyra.

OHIO:

Jacob Blickensderfer,
Joseph J. Ricksecker,
Charles Siewers,
Henry J. Van Vleck.

INDIANA:

James A. Buttner, Hope;
Francis R. Holland, Hope;
Edward J. Regennas, Hope;
Edward O. Weinland, Hope;
C. Edward Tombler, Evansville;
Ferd. G. Lennert, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND:

Lewis P. Clewell, Graceham.

NORTH CAROLINA—(*Wachovia*):

Henry T. Bahnson,
Traugott Christ,
John A. Friebele,*
John W. Fries,
5 Eugene P. Greider,
John W. Hunter,
R. Parmenio Leinbach,
Alexander Meinung,
Francis W. Meller,
10 Edward Rondthaler,
Lewis C. Rights,
Elias Schaub,
John D. Siewers,
Nathaniel Siewers,
15 D. Z. Smith,
C. F. Sussdorf,
William T. Vogler,
18 J. Theophilus Zorn.

* Now in Texas.

ILLINOIS—(*West Salem and Olney.*):

David Müller,
Gottlieb F. Oehler,
Benjamin Ricksecker,
John H. Smith,
5 Elisha W. Shields,
Herman J. Tietze,
William C. Tietze.

WISCONSIN:

A. M. Iverson,
C. F. Plessing.

MINNESOTA:

Theodore Sonderman,
William H. Oerter, Chaska.
L. Oliver Tombler.

IOWA:

James B. Haman,
Robert W. Herbst.

KANSAS:

Herman Ruede, Samuel Weinland,
Henry E. Weinland.

CALIFORNIA:

Gustav Adolph Reich.

WEST INDIES AND EUROPE:

John Elliott, Edwin E. Reinke,
John L. Hasting, Benjamin Romig,
G. H. Hanna, Bernh. R. M. de Schweinitz,
A. C. Morrish, James Turner,
5 F. T. Niebert, 10 Samuel L. Thaeler,
J. F. Wedemann.

APPENDIX I.

A LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM FROM ITS ORGANIZATION IN 1770 UP TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1879.

[The Christian and family names are generally given as the members themselves wrote them in signing the Constitution. The list is as complete as could be made from the extant sources. In the case of the earlier members who died widowers, the year of departure is, as a rule, not known.]

I.—ORIGINAL MEMBERS.

Date of Signing.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence. when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1770, Nov. 27,	Andreas Albrecht,	52,	Bethlehem, Pa.,	1802, April 19.
	Abraham Andreas,	45,	"	1802, Oct. 26.
	Andrew the Negro,	40,	"	1779, April 13.
	Philip Christian Bader,	55,	"	1797, Mar. 15.
	Henry Ferdinand Beck,	60,	"	1783, Jan. 14.
	Joachim Birnbaum,	56,	"	1788, June 22.
	George Fr. Bœckel,	54,	"	1780, Oct. 21.
	Tobias Bœckel,	30,	"	1815, Sept. 29.
	Francis Bœhler,	48,	"	1806, June 4.
	John Brandmiller,	66,	"	1777, Aug. 16.
	Ephraim Colver, junr.,	27,	"	1775, Mar. 24.
	Ferdinand Detmers,	52,	"	1801, Aug. 21.
	David Digeon,	48,	"	1777, April 7.
	Christian Eggert,	56,	"	1780, April 15.
	John Ettwein,	49.	"	1802, Jan. 2.
	Thomas Fischer,	58,	"	1784, Jan. 24.
	Valentine Führer,	46,	"	1808, Jan. 12.
	Hector Gambold,	51,	"	1788, Nov. 10.
	Nicholas Garrison, senr.	69,	"	1782, Sept. 24.
	Michael Haberland,	72,	"	1782, June 3.
	Jacob Hafner,	61,	Christiansbrunn,	1773, Feb. 16.
	Matthias Hanke,	63,	Gnadenthal,	1785, Jan. 3.
	John G. Hartman,	47,	"	——— ———
	John Valentin Haidt,	70,	Bethlehem, Pa.,	1780, Jan. 18.
	Christian Hornig,	47,	"	1812, Aug. 11.
	Timothy Horsfield, junr.,	38,	"	1789, April 11.
	George Huber,	52,	"	1790, May 9.
	Ludwig Hübner,	53,	"	withdrew1776.
	Robert Hussey,	57,	"	1775, July 8.
	Just Jansen,	51,	"	1790, June 28.
	J. George Jungman,	50,	"	1808, July 17.
	George Klein,	65,	"	1783, July 21.
	Henry Krause,	53,	"	1792, April 28.
	Chr. Otto Krogstrupp,	56,	"	1785, Oct. 10.
	Daniel Kunkler,	51,	"	1777, Oct. 9.

Date of Signing.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence. when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1770, Nov. 27.	Gottlieb Lange,	54,	Bethlehem, Pa.,	1791, Nov. 8.
	Franz Christian Lembke,	66,	"	1785, July 11.
	John Michler,	49,	"	1785, June 19.
	John Wolfgang Michler,	55,	"	1785. Oct 5.
	Michael Miksch,	60,	Gnadenthal,	——— ———
	Joseph Möller,	57,	Bethlehem,	1778, Feb. 8.
	Peter Mordieck,	54,	Gnadenthal,	withdrew1777.
	Paul Münster,	54,	Bethlehem,	1792, Oct. 14.
	George Neisser,	55,	"	1784, Nov. 1.
	Joseph Neisser,	47,	"	1793, June 25.
	David Nitschmann*	72,	"	1772, Oct. 8.
	John Francis Oberlin,	38,	"	——— ———
	Christian Fr. Oerter,	54,	"	1793, April 29.
	John Fr. Otto,	58,	Nazareth,	1779, Dec 31.
	J. Matthew Otto,	56,	Bethlehem,	1793, April 29.
	Frederick Peter,	63,	Nazareth,	1791, April 29.
	Richard Popellwell,	52,	Bethlehem,	1771, Nov. 11.
	Joseph Powell,	59,	"	1774, Sept. 23.
	John Rothe,	44,	"	1791, July 22.
	Audolph Rusmeyer,	55,	"	1797, July 4.
	J. Nicholas Schæfer,	48,	Nazareth,	1783, ———
	John Jacob Schmick,	56,	Bethlehem,	1778, Jan. 28.
	Anton Schmidt,	45,	"	1793, Mar. 15.
	Johann Schmidt,	52,	Nazareth,	1786, Feb. 17.
	Friederich Schmidt,	45,	Bethlehem,	1805, Oct. 11.
	Andreas Schober,	60,	"	1792, July 14.
	Nathanael Seidel,	52,	"	1782, May 17.
	J. Matthaes Spohn,	59,	Christiansbrunn,	1781, July 15.
	J. George Stoll,	53,	Bethlehem,	1801, Mar. 10.
	Ludwig Stoz,	60,	"	1782, Aug. 16.
	Christian Stoz,	59,	Christiansbrunn,	——— ———
	Amadeus P. Thræne,	52,	Bethlehem,	1776, April 19.
	Jacob Till,	57,	"	1783, Jan. 28.
	Andreas Weber,	51,	"	1784, May 11.
	Matthias Weiss,	61,	"	1795, Nov. 4.
	John Nich. Weinland,	64,	Gnadenthal,	1777, Jan. 27.
	J. J. Wiesinger,	55,	Bethlehem,	1790, Aug. 21.
	G. Stephen Wohlson,	63,	Gnadenthal,	——— ———
	Peter Worbasse,	48,	Bethlehem,	——— ———
1770, Dec. 15.	Samuel Herr,	54,	"	1773, Feb. 24.
	John George Grün,	48,	"	1796, June 5.
1770, Dec. 19.	Jacob Dickert,	30,	Lancaster,	——— ———
	Jacob Franck,	56,	"	1787, April 13
	George Graff,	68,	"	1777, Mar. 16.
	J. Christoph Hayne,	55,	"	1781, Jan. 11.
	William Henry, senr.,	41,	"	1786, Dec. 15.
	Marcus Jung,	65,	"	withdrew1781.
	George Schenk,	61,	"	1777, April 6.
	Philip Thomas,	36,	"	1815, Nov. 20.
	Jacob Vetter,	61,	"	1777, June 13.
	John Hopson,	50,	"	1784, ———
	Claus Cœlln,	46,	Lititz,	1806, April 6.
	Heinrich Haller,	51,	"	——— ———
	Andreas Horn,	53,	"	1786, Nov. 14.
	Jasper Payne,	62,	"	1779, July 3.

* According to the Journal of the Society, David Nitschmann was born in 1698, while on his tombstone in the Bethlehem Cemetery 1696 is marked as the year of his birth In this case, as in several others where the date of *departure* was doubtful, we have followed the authority of the Journal.

Date of Signing.	Name.	Age and Residence when admitted.		Departed.
1770, Dec. 19,	Martin Ebert,	46,	Yorktown, Pa.,	withdrew1784.
	George Gump,	61,	"	1792, Sept. 7.
	John Heckendorn,	54,	"	1788, July 12.
	Franz Jacob Miller,	51,	"	withdrew1774.
	Joseph Schank,	52,	"	1789, Nov. 7.
	J. Christoph Franck,	59,	Bethlehem, Pa.,	1782, Aug. 22.
	B. Adam Grube,	55,	"	1808, Mar. 20.
	Matthæus G. Hehl,	65,	"	1787, Dec 4.
	Andreas Langgaard,	58,	"	1777, Mar 21.
	John George Nixdorf,	70,	"	1785, Sept. 29.
	Gottfried Rœsler,	59,	"	1776, Jan. 6.
	John Schweisshaupt,	49,	"	1808, Nov. 15.
	J. Michael Zahm,	52,	"	1787, Dec. 30.
Dec. 24,	Jacob Lœsch,	48,	"	1782, Nov. 8.
Dec. 27,	J. Gottfried Rœmelt,	58,	"	1799, July 12.
	Gottlieb Berndt,	52,	Nazareth,	1772, Mar. 16.
Dec. 28,	Heinr Lindenmeyer,	42,	Bethlehem,	1817, Jan. 20.
Dec. 31,	Adam von Erd,	48,	"	1794, Mar. 14.
1771, Jan. 1,	Edward Thorp,	49,	"	1797, July 31.
	William Edmonds,	62,	Plainfield,	withdrew1773.

II.—ADMITTED MEMBERS.

Admitted.	Name.	Age and Residence when admitted.		Departed.
1771, Jan. 2,	Christian Gregor,	49,	Bethlehem,	1801, Nov. 6.
	Johannes Loretz,	63,	"	1798, ———
	J. George Engler,	32,	"	1775, June 2.
	Ludwig Weiss,	53,	Philadelphia,	1796, Oct. 21.
May 28,	George Schlosser,	56,	"	——— ———
	Henry Miller,	69,	"	1780, ———
	Paulus Tiersch,	43,	Bethlehem,	1774, Oct. 16.
	H. C. A. von Schweiniz,	30,	"	1802, Feb. 26.
	Nicholas Garrison, junr.,	45,	Philadelphia,	——— ———
	N. Jacob Sangerhausen,	70,	Bethlehem,	1785, May 19.
July 2,	Jeremias Dencke,	45,	"	1795, May 28.
	J. George Schnell,	58,	Nazareth,	1783, Dec. 15.
	Gottlieb Fockel,	—,	Wachovia, N. C.,	1778, Dec. 17.
	J. Wm. Werner,	49,	Lititz,	1787, June 24.
1772, Jan. 7,	J. Michael Graff,	57,	Bethabara, N. C.,	1782, Aug. 29.
	Christoph Kühnast,	58,	"	——— ———
	Jacob Kapp,	42,	"	——— ———
	Gottfried Aust,	49,	Salem, N. C.,	withdrew1778.
	Jacob Bonn,	38,	"	1781, Oct 31.
	Jacob Meyer,	47,	"	1800, Aug. 26.
	C. Gottlieb Reuter,	54,	"	1777, Dec. 30.
	J. G. Schmidt,	52,	"	——— ———
	Daniel Schnepf,	54,	"	——— ———
	Richard Utley,	52,	"	1775, Oct. 9.
	J. Theobald Kornman,	50,	Bethlehem,	1805, Aug. 1.
	J. Carl S. Weinecke,	39,	"	1811, Jan 22.
	Francis Thomas,	39,	"	1822, April 4.
	John C. Hasse,	31,	"	1797, June 24.
	Matthaes Kremser,	48,	"	——— ———
	Timothy Horsfield, senr.,	63,	"	1773, Mar. 9.
	William Bœhler,	46,	"	1806, April 11.
	John Peter,	42,	Philadelphia,	1793, Oct. 10.
	Daniel Neupert,	67,	Nazareth,	1788, Jan. 3.

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1772, Jan. 7,	J. H. Merk,	53,	Lititz,	excluded 1773.
July, 7,	Frederick Leinbach,	34,	Greenl'd in Jersey,	——— ———
	Gottfried Schulze,	54,	Nazareth,	1779, May 30.
	Robert Ears,	76,	Hebron,	1776, Dec. 26.
1773, Jan. 5,	John Andrew Borheck,	46,	Bethlehem,	1791, May 14.
	Christian Giers,	48,	"	1797, June 5.
	Leonhard Knauss,	28,	"	1823, May 14.
	George Schindler,	45,	"	1809, Mar. 16.
	John Lischer,	53,	Nazareth,	1782, May 11.
	Heinrich Miller,	48,	"	1779, Nov. 13.
	Michael Ruch,	46,	Christiansbrunn,	1797, May 9.
	George Schneider,	56,	Nain,	1773, Oct. 9.
	Peter Ricksecker,	62,	Lititz,	1778, Feb. 9.
July 2,	Frederick Unger,	44,	Philadelphia,	1779, April 2.
	John Jacob Christ,	32,	Nazareth,	1805, April 2.
	Rudolph Strehle,	61,	Bethlehem,	1794, July 25.
1774, Jan. 4,	J. Philip Stœhr,	57,	Lebanon,	1781, Aug. 22
	Matthaeus Stach,	62,	Bethabara, N. C.,	1787, Dec. 21.
	Ludolph G. Bachhof,	63,	Friedberg,	1776, Sept. 21.
	Henry Van Vleck,	51,	New York,	1785, Jan 25.
July 5,	J. Daniel Sydrich,	47.	Greenland, N. J.,	1790, May 22.
	August Schlœsser,	47.	Nazareth,	1792, May 3.
	Israel Horsfield,	32,	Newport,	1801, Nov. 21.
	John Merk,	50,	Bethlehem,	1796, Dec. 18.
1775, Jan. 3,	Samuel Mau,	56,	"	1783, July 9.
	John Adolph Meyer,	60,	Philadelphia,	1781, Oct. 7.
	Melchior Christ,	40,	Nazareth,	1806, Feb. 24.
	John Peizel,	62,	Yorktown, Pa.,	——— ———
	Ewald Gustavus Shaukirk,	49,	New York,	1805, Mar. 19.
July 4,	Nicholas Lorenz Bage,	43,	Salem,	1789, June 20.
	George Pitschman,	61,	Bethlehem,	1789, May 20.
1776, Jan. 2,	Michael Mœhring,	36,	Nazareth,	1796, April 30.
July, 2,	John L'Joungberg,	39,	"	1808, Sept. 13.
	James Hall,	51,	Bethlehem,	1783, July 9
	John Muschbach,	36,	Hope, N. J.,	——— ———
	Daniel Hauser,	32,	"	1812, May 19.
	Samuel Fockel,	57,	Lititz,	resigned 1789.
1777, Jan. 14,	David Tanneberg,	48,	"	——— ———
	J. George Geitner,	61,	"	1818, Feb. 28.
July 1,	Joseph Otto,	32,	Nazareth,	1820, Feb. 2.
1778, Jan. 13,	John Dealing,	30,	Philadelphia,	1785, Sept. 10.
July 7,	J. Jacob Ernst,	48,	Bethania, N. C.,	1802, Dec. 4.
1779, Feb. 10,	Hans Jacob Schneider,	48.	Hope, N. J.,	——— ———
July 6,	Hermanus Lœsch,	53,	Friedensthal,	1791, April 8.
1781, July,	Philip Jacob Reizenbach,	56,	Bethlehem,	1802, Sept. 22.
1782, Jan. 8,	C. Frederick Beutel,	29,	"	——— ———
	C. Renatus Heckenwelder,	31,	"	1803, Jan. 31.
	William Henry, junr.,	24,	Nazareth,	1821, ———
	Conrad Gerhard,	—,	Bethlehem, (?)	——— ———
1789, July 7,	Nicholas Schneckenburger,	44,	Antigua, W. I.,	1794, Nov. 5.
1790, July 6,	August Klingsohr,	44,	Bethlehem,	1798, Nov. 5.
1791, Jan. 4,	Godfrey Haga,	—,	Philadelphia,	1825, ———
July 5,	John Schropp,	40.	Bethlehem,	1805, July 4.
1792, Jan. 3,	C. Gotthold Reichel,	40,	Nazareth,	1825, April 18.
	Jacob Eyerle, junr.,	—,	"	1800, May 11.
	John Beutel,	—,	"	1840, Sept. 27.
	Jacob Rubel,	66,	Bethlehem,	1813, Sept. 6.
July 3,	Thomas Bartow,	—,	Philadelphia,	1793, Jan. 26.
	Frederick Blum,	51,	Hope, N. J.,	1813, Feb. 1.

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1792, July 3,	John Weiss,	43,	Bethlehem, Pa.,	1814, July 4.
	George Weiss,	33,	"	1811, Aug. 31.
	Joseph Horsfield,	40,	"	1834, Sept. 9.
	Ludwig Meinung,	49,	Salem, N. C.,	——— ———
1796, Jan. 5,	John F. Mœhring,	58,	Oldman's Creek,	1804, April 11.
July 5,	Jacob Van Vleck,	45,	Bethlehem,	1831, July 3.
	John F. Peter,	50,	"	1813, July 13.
1797, Jan 3,	John Daniel Kœhler,	59,	Salem, N. C.,	1805, Jan. 28.
	C. Ludwig Benzien,	43,	"	1811, Nov. 13.
	Samuel Stoz,	44,	"	1820, Sept 5.
	J. Martin Schneider,	40,	"	——— ———
	George Bievighausen,	42,	"	1806, Sept. 24.
	Samuel G. Kramsch,	40,	Hope, N. C.,	1824, Feb. 2.
July 11,	John Martin Beck,	50,	Mount Joy,	1827, Feb. 14.
1801, Jan 6,	Jacob Blum, senr.,	62,	Salem, N. C.,	1803, Dec. 9.
	Chr. Thomas Pfohl,	41,	"	1838, April 3.
1803, Jan. 4,	J. Jacob Wohlfahrt,	47,	"	1807, Aug. 4.
1804, Jan. 4,	John Bardill,	46,	New York,	1845, Oct. 1.
1805, July 3,	David Bischoff,	56,	Bethlehem,	1827, Nov. 2.
	Abraham Levering,	47,	"	1835, Mar. 16.
	Samuel Steup,	47,	"	1822, Aug. 14.
	Matthew Eggert,	42,	"	1831, Sept. 22.
1811, July 2,	J. Gebhard Cunow,	51,	"	1829 ———
1812, Jan. 7,	Sebastian Gund,	38,	"	1852, April 3.
July 7,	Joseph Leibert,	32,	"	1858, Aug. 24.
	J. Fr. Stadiger,	45,	"	1849, Nov. 16.
1813, July 6,	Christian Fr. Schaaf,	54,	"	1841, July 23.
	Owen Rice, junr.,	25,	"	1856, Jan. 5.
	John Jacob Kummer,	31,	Bethabara, N. C.	1857, May 5.
1814, July 4,	John Stotz,	61,	Bethlehem,	1821, May 12.
1815, Jan 3,	John Schneider,	37,	"	1825, Sept. 17.
1816, Jan. 1,	John Kremser,	58,	"	1823, Nov. 11.
	Christian Eggert,	55,	"	1827, Oct. 20.
	Owen Rice, senr.,	64,	"	1820, Aug. 29.
June 30,	Christian Borheck,	40,	"	1828, April 29.
	John Frederick Rauch,	30,	"	1863, Mar. 17.
July 1,	George Schuster,	37,	"	1831, Dec. 11.
	Joseph Rice,	30,	"	1831, Oct. 8.
Aug. 10,	J. Frederick Rudolphi,	52,	Lititz,	1825, Mar. 3.
	J. Philip Bachman,	54,	"	1837, Nov. 15.
	J. Peter Lehnert,	61,	"	1826, April 10.
	J. Gottfried Træger,	46,	"	1823, May 31.
	Matthew G. Tschudy,	45,	"	1852, Oct. 25.
	Christian Christ,	42,	"	1828, June 19.
	Jacob Rack,	41,	"	——— ———
	John Miller,	55,	"	——— ———
	Christian Schropp,	60,	"	1826, Dec. 31.
	Adolph Lichtenthæler,	47,	"	1834, April 5.
1817, Jan. 1,	David Peter Schneller,	29,	Bethlehem,	1842, Sept. 21.
	Frederick Führer,	48,	"	1849, Mar. 2.
	George Godfrey Miller,	54,	Philadelphia,	1821, Mar. 19.
	John Beitel, junr,	35,	Nazareth,	1870, Aug. 1.
1818, Jan. 1,	John Henry Schulz,	53,	Bethlehem,	1829, July 10.
July 2,	William Fr. Sautter,	43,	Antigua, W. I.,	1825, ———
	John Jacob Jundt,	43,	Bethlehem,	1831, Oct. 9.
	Theodor Schulz,	48,	Schœneck,	1850, Aug. 4.
	Nicholas Elias Hœber,	58,	Nazareth,	1830, Aug. 4.
	Johann Fried. Bourquin,	56,	Bethlehem,	1850, April 1.
	Thomas C. Lüders,	36,	Philadelphia,	1869, ———

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1818, Oct. 18,	Emman'l Rondthaler, sen.,	54,	Nazareth,	1847, June 6.
	Joseph Schweishaupt,	53,	"	1842, Dec. 8.
	Johannes Schnall,	64,	Bethlehem,	1819, Sept. 7.
Dec. 26,	Matthew Muecke,	(?)	Lititz,	1832, Oct. 4.
1819, Jan. 10,	Ludwig D. v. Schweinitz,	38,	Salem,	1834, Feb. 8
May 9,	Jacob Rice,	26,	Bethlehem,	1862, Dec. 3.
	Jacob Wolle,	30,	"	1863 April 17.
June 30,	Christian G. Paulus,	54,	"	1821, Nov. 6.
	Christian Lange,	53,	"	1837, June 17.
	John Krause,	24,	"	1874, Oct 10.
	John Rice,	28,	Northampton,	1868, Aug. 22.
July 22,	Joseph Jones,	64,	Bethlehem,	1824, Dec. 18.
1820, Jan. 2,	Carl Fr. Schrœter,	69,	Lititz,	1821, Mar. 28.
	Christian Fr. Denke,	44	"	1838, Jan. 12.
May 3,	John Lewis Strohle,	51,	Bethabara, N. C.,	1827, Sept. 12.
	Eberhard Freytag,	56,	Bethlehem,	1846, Mar. 4.
July 3,	Daniel Grosh,	47,	Lititz,	——— ———
Sept 25,	Hans Peterson,	(?)	"	1824, Nov. 18.
Oct. 21,	Johannes Mæhr,	56,	St. Croix, W. I.,	1851-52, ———
Nov. 18,	J. Jonathan Bishop,	34,	Bethlehem,	1860, Nov 11.
1822, Jan. 1,	Jacob Chr. Luckenbach,	37,	"	1852, May 16.
	John Chr. Kern,	36,	"	1841, Aug. 1.
	Henry Frederick Siewers,	64,	St. Croix, W. I.,	1824, ———
Jan. 18,	Massah Warner,	67,	Bethlehem,	1824, May 24.
April 5,	Friederich Vogenitz,	57,	"	1837, Dec. 13
June 2,	John W. Rauch,	31,	Lititz,	1863, Mar. 11.
June 19,	Benjamin Eggert,	29,	Bethlehem,	1860, July 29.
July 4,	Charles F. Seidel,	43,	"	1861, April 26.
July 9,	Paul Weiss,	59,	Emmaus,	1840, Oct. 31.
Aug. 4,	Thomas Langballe,	58,	Lititz,	1826, Feb. 13.
	William H. Van Vleck,	31,	Philadelphia,	1853, Jan. 19.
Aug. 18,	Charles D. Bishop,	38,	Bethlehem,	1853, July 18.
1823, Feb. 23,	Abraham Reinke,	70,	Lititz,	1833, Feb. 16.
July 22,	Christian Knauss,	45,	Bethlehem,	1847, July 28.
Sept. 4,	C. Friedrich Kampmann,	77,	"	1832, Nov. 6
Sept. 14,	John Oerter,	29,	"	1866, Feb. 5.
Dec 14,	John S. Haman,	36,	Nazareth,	1866, Feb. 18.
	William Rice,	24,	Bethlehem,	1833, Jan 17.
1824, April 13,	Samuel Reinke,	32,	"	1875, Jan. 21.
	William Horsfield,	53,	Emmaus,	1845, Feb. 8
April 30,	Christian D Busse,	34,	Nazareth,	1871, April 2.
May 31,	Charles Tombler,	23,	Bethlehem,	
	Marcus Fetter,	51,	"	1827, May 22.
June 29,	Jedidiah Weiss,	28,	"	1873, Sept. 3.
July 22,	Daniel Esterlein,	64,	"	1829, Nov. 27.
July 25,	George A. Hartman,	43,	Staten Island,	1839, May 7.
July 27,	Carl Gottlieb Blech,	68,	Bethlehem,	1832, Sept. 6.
	Benjamin Mortimer,	56,	New York,	1834, Nov. 10.
Aug. 18,	David Kunkler,	29	Bethlehem,	1839, Aug. 5.
Aug. 27,	John G. Pietsch,	54,	"	1841, Sept. 19.
Sept. 6,	John G. Kummer,	34,	"	1846, Aug. 6.
Sept. 15	John Gerhard Bönhof,	—,	St. Croix, W. I.,	1849, ———
	Henry William Sybrecht,	—,	"	——— ———
Nov. 7,	John Peter Kluge,	56,	Graceham,	1849, Jan. 30.
Nov. 20,	J. Jacob Luch,	68,	Bethlehem,	1831, Aug. 26.
Dec. 22,	Timothy Weiss,	24,	"	1848, Aug. 23.
1825, May 7,	Paul Suess,	66,	Graceham,	——— ———
Sept. 12,	J. Philip Götz,	—,	St. John, W. I.,	1827, ———
1826, Jan. 21,	George R. Bardill,	37,	Nazareth,	1859, May 16.

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1826, Jan. 21,	George H. Bute,	—,	Philadelphia,	1876, Feb. 13.
	Abraham Huebner,	60,	Bethlehem,	1831, Feb. 10.
Aug. 3,	James E. Smith,	35,	Philadelphia,	1846, ——
Aug. 26,	Christian Hall,	51,	Lititz,	1848, June 30.
Oct. 14,	Jacob Grosh,	49,	Marietta,	—— ——
Dec. 26,	John Jacob Christ,	45,	Nazareth,	1861, Nov. 3.
1827, June 5,	John G. Herman,	36,	Lancaster,	1854, July 20.
June 21,	John Beck, junr.,	—,	Lititz,	1873, Mar. 26.
July 26,	Gotthold B. Reichel,	41,	Salem, N. C.,	1833, Dec, 20.
Dec. 4,	John C. Warner,	41,	Bethlehem,	1858, June 30.
1828, April 26,	Christian D. Senseman,	46,	Nazareth,	1834, Dec. 13.
June 7,	Franz C. Danke,	42,	"	1854, Jan. 26.
June 19,	Emanuel Shober,	—,	Salem, N. C.,	1845–46, ——
	Jacob Zorn,	24,	Bethlehem,	1843, May 27.
July 3,	Matthew Christ,	32,	"	
	John T. Snekenburg,	36,	"	1829, May 3
Aug. 11,	Henry Wöhler,	38,	"	1868, June 14.
1829, March 6,	John D. Anders,	57,	"	1847, Nov. 6.
April 21,	F. C. Meinung,	47,	Salem, N. C.	1851–52, ——
	Daniel C. Welfare,	32,	"	1841, ——
	Wm. Lewis Benzien,	31,	"	1832, Dec. 1.
June 30,	John C. Burkhard,	57,	"	1846, Aug. 28.
July 1,	John Schropp,	23,	Bethlehem,	1840, Sept. 2.
July 14,	Christian F. Youngman,	37,	"	1870, ——
July 15,	George Henry Gundt,	23,	"	1877, Nov. 23.
	Samuel Thomas Pfohle,	27,	Friedland, N. C.,	1874, May 26.
Aug. 20,	John Christian Ebbecke,	64,	Schœneck,	1837, ——
Sept. 3,	David Warner,	38,	Bethlehem,	
Oct. 3,	John Jordan, junr.,	59,	Philadelphia,	1845, ——
Oct. 14,	Samuel Sturgis,	48,	Lititz,	1844, ——
Nov. 10,	John Fr. Wolle,	44,	Bethlehem,	1860, April 24.
	Jacob Christ.	47,	Emmaus,	1843–44, ——
Dec. 17,	Francis Eder,	31,	Salem, N. C.,	1836, Nov. 18.
1830, Jan. 28,	Samuel R. Huebner,	34,	Gnadenhütten,	1849, June 7.
Feb. 8,	Christian Lewis Ebbecke,	27,	Schœneck,	1874, ——
April 23,	John F. Stadiger, junr.,	26,	Philadelphia,	1851–52. ——
June 15,	Daniel Kreider,	—,	Lititz,	1868, Jan. 3.
Sept. 18,	Abraham Luckenbach,	53,	New Fairfield,	1854, Mar. 8.
Sept. 24,	Peter S. Beears,	30,	Bethlehem,	1837, April 13.
1831, May 27,	James Leibert,	23,	"	1863, Oct. 28.
June 14,	William Neisser,	34,	"	1859, June 10.
June 27,	Charles M. Kafka,	49,	"	1857, Nov. 14.
July 20,	John Weber,	61,	"	1849, July 18.
1832, Feb. 7,	Jacob Miller,	34,	Warwick,	1865, Nov. 7.
Mar. 26,	Samuel Schultz,	37,	Bethlehem,	1857, Jan. 30.
May 14,	Jacob Fr. Lœffler,	60,	Lititz,	1841, Feb. 20.
May 26,	David Bigler,	28,	Bethlehem,	1875, July 2.
June 29,	Theodore Christian Pfohl,	28,	Salem, N. C.,	1870, ——
	Godfrey H. Zetzsche,	45,	Tobago, W. I.,	1861, ——
July 9,	Christian Gottlieb Hüffel,	69,	Herrnhut, Germ'y,	1842, June 7.
Aug. 4,	John J. Hagen,	61,	Salem, N C.,	1844, ——
Aug. 13,	Abraham L. Huebner,	26,	Bethlehem,	1870, Oct. 30.
Sept. 18,	Adam Haman,	42,	"	1857, Jan. 13.
Oct. 15,	Charles A. Bleck,	28,	"	1850, Jan. 17.
1833, Jan. 14,	John M. Miksch,	34,	"	
Feb. 6,	Jacob Blickensderfer,	—,	Canal Dover, O.,	1857, ——
June 27,	Aaron Hillman,	58,	Bethlehem,	1852, May 3.
May 30,	John Fr. Erwin,	30,	"	
June 17,	Jacob Fr. Sigmund,	28,	"	

PACIFIC SCHOOL OF RELIGION

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed*
1833, Oct. 22,	J. Jacob Sparmeyer,	49,	Friedensberg, W.I.,	1846, ———
	Johannes Schmid,	36,	Niesky, St. Thomas,	1834, ———
	Andrew Benade,	64,	Lititz,	1859, Oct. 31.
1834, Jan. 24,	Philip Gold,	39,	Bethlehem,	1860, Nov. 10.
March 25,	Jacob Miksch,	46,	Nazareth,	1878, Oct. 24.
April 10,	Christian Lewis Kluge,	25,	Bethlehem,	1860, ———
May 5,	John Collis,	35,	Fairfield, Jamaica,	1837, ———
	Charles A. Van Vleck,	39,	Newport, R. I.,	1845, Dec. 21.
July 4,	Frederick Wm. Damus,	40,	N. Herrnhut, W.I.,	1837, ———
July 31,	Timothy Masslich,	32,	Lititz,	1875, ———
Aug. 11,	Edward Rice,	21,	"	1849, July 2.
Aug. 22,	William Eberman,	47,	"	1857, April 17.
	Johann A. Staude,	—,	Friedensfeld, W.I.,	1851–52, ———
Oct. 17,	Jacob B. Tschudy,	28,	Lititz,	1866, Nov. 8.
	Philip H. Gœpp,	36,	Bethlehem,	1872, Mar. 21.
Nov. 11,	Matthew Brown,	39,	"	1866, Nov. 22.
Dec. 5,	Christian H. Rauch,	46,	Warwick,	1866, Nov. 22.
1835, Jan. 19,	Johann A. Plættner,	40,	Friedensberg, W.I.,	——— ———
	J. G. Mueller,	52,	Friedensthal, W.I.,	——— ———
	George Robbins,	45,	Irwin Hill, W. I.,	1874, Feb. —.
Jan. 29,	Jonas Meyer,	36,	Lititz,	——— ———
	Charles F. Kluge,	33,	"	
Feb. 14,	Charles Lewis Meller,	45,	Nazareth,	1859, Feb. 18.
March 18,	Michael Muecke,	—,	Lititz,	1840, ———
	Frederick Keller,	—,	"	1852, Sept. 9.
May 11,	Thomas Mies,	42.	Hanover township,	1868, Aug. 14.
	Jacob Shultz,	43,	Salem, N. C.,	——— ———
June 24,	John C. Jacobson,	40,	"	1870, Nov. 24.
July 10,	Lawrence F. Oerter,	32,	Nazareth,	
July 29,	George F. Trœger,	43,	Hebron,	1874, Aug. 22.
Sept. 5,	John Ham,	—,	Lititz,	1848, July 24.
	William F. Giering,	42,	Emmaus,	1873, ———
Sept. 30,	Peter Wolle,	43,	Philadelphia,	1871, Nov. 14.
Nov. 4,	John Scholefield,	38,	Jamaica, W. I.,	1845–46, ———
Dec. 7,	F. Wm. Oppelt,	33,	Bethlehem,	1842, Mar. 31.
1836, May 23,	J. Joseph Henry,	49,	Boulton,	1836–37, ———
Aug. 13,	Christian Henry Beitel,	47,	Nazareth,	1847, Sept. 16.
1837, April 1,	Gabriel Træger,	27,	Bethlehem,	1839, June 8.
Oct. 23.	Andrew G. Kern,	44,	Nazareth.	1874, Dec. —
Nov. 27,	Peter Ricksecker,	46,	St. Kitts, W. I.,	1873, July 13.
1838, Jan 2,	John Elliott,	39,	Jamaica, W. I.,	
Jan. 11,	Henry Blickensderfer,	29,	Lititz,	
March 10,	Henry B. Luckenbach,	24,	Bethlehem,	
	Ernst L. Lehman,	32,	"	1857, Feb. 8.
	Amos Bealer,	28,	"	1870, July 11.
Sept. 15,	Wm. Jacob Kryder,	40,	Lititz,	1852–53, ———
1839, Feb. 9,	Joseph J. Albright,	27,	Nazareth,	
April 27,	Reuben S. Rauch,	26,	Bethlehem,	
May 29,	David Luckenbach,	55,	"	1850, Aug. 30.
July 17,	John Ch. W. Fries,	63,	Salem, N. C.,	1866, Jan. 20.
July 23,	John Henry Buchner,	28,	Jamaica, W. I.,	1865, July 19.
Aug. 23,	John G. Zippel,	—,	Barbadoes, W. I.,	1859, ———
1840, April 9,	Samuel Weinland,	37,	Bethlehem,	
May 5,	Christian Lichtenthæler,	38,	Lititz,	1855, ———
May 23,	Henry G. Guetter,	42,	Bethlehem,	1847, July 8.
Sept. 1,	Henry Wied,	—,	St. Thomas, W. I.,	——— ———
Nov. 2,	J. Lewis Doster,	44,	Bethlehem,	1860, May 26.
Nov. 10,	Eugene A. Frueauff,	34,	Lititz,	1879, Jan. 12.
1841, June 29,	John Rickert,	34,	"	1849, Dec. 3.

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1841, June 29,	James A. Rice,	27,	Bethlehem,	1850, Sept. 9.
Nov. 29,	Emmanuel Rondthaler,	26,	"	1848, Nov. 30.
1842, Jan. 19,	Herman J. Tietze,	31,	Hope, Ind.,	
June 6,	Benjamin Ricksecker,	25,	Basseterre, W. I.,	
June 16,	Jacob Grider,	54,	Lititz,	1858, Feb. 3.
	Reuben O. Luckenbach,	24,	Bethlehem,	
July 23,	Ambrose Rondthaler,	29,	Graceham,	
Sept. 1,	Joachim H. Hohe,	51,	Niesky, W. I.,	1846, ———
	Johann S. Freytag,	40,	"	1850, ———
Oct. 1,	Edward Rondthaler,	25,	Schœneck,	1855, Mar. 5.
1843, April 7,	Josiah O. Beitel,	32,	Nazareth,	
May 9.	John George Fetter,	—,	Lancaster,	1856, Sept. 9.
Nov. 18,	Lewis F. Kampmann,	26,	Canal Dover, O.,	
	John George Paulick,	66,	Lititz,	1858, July 14.
	Ch. F. Sussdorf,	36,	Salem, N. C.,	
1844, Jan. 15,	Edwin P. Wolle,	31,	Nazareth,	
March 29,	John C. Brickenstein,	44,	Bethlehem,	
May 1,	Matthew Krause,	30,	"	1865, Nov. 20.
	Jacob F. Siewers,	39,	Salem, N. C.,	1867, Oct. 20.
May 21,	Gilbert Bishop,	27,	Cherokee Nation,	
July 15,	Henry C. Bachman,	39,	Westfield,	1871, June 12.
Aug. 1,	J. George Cooper,	42,	Lancaster,	1845–46, ——
	Rudolph F. Rauch,	31,	"	1879, ———
	Ferdinand G. Lennert,	29,	Lititz,	
Sept. 3,	John Gottlieb Klosè,	46,	St. Kitts, W. I.,	1855, Sept. 9.
	Charles Wm. Rauch,	27,	Bethlehem,	
1845, April 18,	David Z. Smith,	23,	Cherokee Nation,	
	Herman L. Stadiger,	35,	U. Sancon,	1866, Jan. 4.
Aug. 23,	Adolph Herman Ziock,	38,	St. Croix, W. I.,	1872, ———
Oct. 21,	Charles H. Kryder,	—,	Warwick,	
Dec. 30,	Ambrose H. Rauch,	26,	Bethlehem,	
	Adam Giering,	36,	"	1874, April 16.
	Charles L. Knauss,	41,	"	1859, Aug. 13.
1846, Feb. 17,	Wm. Th. Rœpper,	35,	"	
	Allan Hamilton,	31,	Friedensthal, W. I.,	
April 20,	Alexander Sturgis,	32,	Lititz,	
May 27,	Samuel Yost,	24,	Bethlehem,	
June 24,	Charles F. Beckel,	45,	"	
June 27,	Richard C. Christ,	—,	Nazareth,	
July 9,	John F. Wedemann,	44,	St. John, W. I.,	
Oct. 5,	Levin T. Reichel,	34,	Nazareth,	1878, May 23.
Nov. 24,	Christian Lange,	44,	Bethlehem,	1866, Mar. 8.
Dec. 28,	Daniel Desh,	32,	South Bethlehem,	
1847, Feb. 9,	Julius Th. Beckler,	33,	Lititz,	1875, Mar 8.
June 1,	Nathaniel S. Wolle,	24,	"	
Aug. 2,	Peter Kleckner,	40,	Bethlehem,	1879, ———
Sept. 9,	F. Thomas Clewell,	56,	Schœneck,	1866, ———
Oct. 16,	Joseph H. Kummer,	27,	Friedensthal, W. I.,	
1848, Sept. 21,	James T. Borhek,	40,	Bethlehem,	
	John C. Leibfried,	39,	Nazareth,	
Dec. 6,	D. Henry Bishop,	33,	Bethlehem,	1874, Dec. 10.
1849, March 22,	Edward H. Reichel,	28,	"	1877, Sept. 7.
	Francis F. Thræn,	57,	Antigua, W. I.,	1874, ———
May 28,	David Weinland,	49,	Bethlehem,	1875, ———
June 16,	Abraham Andress,	48,	"	1873, ———
	Jacob Blickensderfer, jun.,	33,	Tuscarawas, O.,	
July 6,	Augustus Wolle,	27,	Bethlehem,	1878, Aug. 11.
	Francis Wolle,	31,	"	
	Heinrich Weniger,	49,	"	1875, April 13.

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1849, July 6,	John D. Siewers,	30,	Salem, N. C.,	
Aug. 2,	Francis L. Fries,	36,	"	1863, Aug. 1.
Aug. 9,	Henry Fuehrer,	44,	Bethlehem,	
	William Kaucher,	26,	"	1853, Oct. 14.
Nov. 5,	George F. Bahnson,	44,	Salem, N. C.,	1869, Sept. 11.
1850, Jan. 26,	William L. Lennert,	38,	Nazareth,	
May 10,	Friedrich Clewell,	58,	Salisbury,	1871, July 2.
May 20,	Emil A. de Schweinitz,	33,	Salem, N. C.,	1879, Nov. 3.
July 13,	Abraham Ritter,	57,	Philadelphia,	1860, ———
July 20,	P. Augustus Christ,	37,	Lititz,	1859, May 3.
	Francis Wm. Christ,	34,	"	
Aug. 14,	Simon Rau,	32,	Bethlehem,	
Sept 18,	Christian R. Hœber,	48,	Nazareth,	
Oct. 28,	Patrick Daily,	35,	Monroe County,	1877, Aug. 15.
1851, Jan 8,	Henry J. Oerter,	23,	Bethlehem,	1864, Nov. 28.
July 11,	John C. Malthaner,	40,	"	1873, Sept. 17.
1853, Jan. 4,	Ch. Aug. Luckenbach,	46,	"	
April 20,	August Moritz Geissler,	37,	Jamaica, W. I.,	——— ———
June 18,	Benjamin Clewell,	49,	Nazareth,	1879. Dec. 31.
July 23,	John Edward Luckenbach,	—,	Canal Dover, O.,	
	William F. Miller,	—,	Bethlehem,	admission unpaid.
	William L. Brown,	36,	"	1860, July 19.
Aug. 29,	Lucius Oliver Tombler,	29,	Philadelphia,	
1854, March 16,	Nathaniel Vogler,	49,	Salem, N. C.,	1872, ———
April 4,	Elias Vogler,	28,	"	1876, ———
June 13,	Abraham Lichtenthæler,	36,	Jamaica, W. I.,	
July 4,	Herman Ruede,	35,	Bethlehem,	
	Charles Siewers,	38,	Cincinnati, O.,	
Aug. 12,	Bern. R. M. de Schweinitz,	38,	Lititz,	
Dec. 16,	Charles Brietz,	43,	Salem, N. C.,	——— ———
1855, April 5,	Benjamin Wilhelm,	38,	Bethlehem,	1870, July 13.
	Jacob Luckenbach,	50,	"	
May 10,	Sylvester Wolle,	39,	"	1873, Aug. 28.
	Amadeus A. Reinke,	33,	Staten Island,	
May 21,	William Beitel,	39,	Nazareth,	1869, Aug. 26.
June 29,	Francis Jordan,	40,	Philadelphia,	
1856, Feb. 25,	Charles W. Cooper,	33,	Lancaster,	
March 3,	Francis M. Rauch,	41,	Lititz,	
July 10,	John Lewis Hasting,	31,	Antigua, W. I.,	
	Peter Anton,	55	Bethlehem,	1872, Aug. 19.
	William Leibert,	33,	"	
Aug. 12,	Henry Schaffner,	58,	Salem, N. C.,	1877, ———
Oct. 28,	Edward O. Weinland,	34,	Hope, Ind.,	
Dec. 16,	Levin J. Krause,	39,	Bethlehem,	
1857, May 21,	Edmund Ricksecker,	42,	Nazareth,	
	David Rau,	37,	Bethlehem,	1879, Jan. 13.
1858, Jan. 7,	John C. Weber,	54,	"	
Feb. 11,	Josiah George,	36,	"	
Sept. 21,	Henry A. Shultz,	52,	"	
1859, Oct. 19,	Jacob Weitzel,	—,	Greenbay, Wis.,	
Oct. 26,	J. Jonathan Hoch,	33,	Nazareth,	1870, ———
Nov. 28,	Elias Shaub,	48,	Bethania, N. C.,	
Nov. 30,	Henry J. Van Vleck,	37,	Nazareth,	
1860, Feb. 27,	John F. Fett,	59,	Greenbay, Wis.,	
April 13,	James Turner,	41,	Antigua, W. I.,	
May 1,	Richard W. Leibert,	27,	Bethlehem,	
	Thomas D. Luckenbach,	41,	"	1871, June 16.
June 22,	Herman M. Fetter,	46,	"	1876, Mar. 29.
July 2,	Johann Gottlieb Michel,	55,	West Salem, Ill.,	1876, ———

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1860, July 9,	Eugene M. Leibert,	25,	Sharon, Ohio,	
	Frederick R. Borhek,	38,	Bethlehem,	
Dec. 3,	B. Franklin Neisser,	37,	"	
1861, Feb. 18,	Cornelius M. Knauss,	32,	"	
April 4,	George W. Perkin,	42,	"	
July 20,	Bernhard E. Lehman,	25,	"	
Dec. 14,	Gustav A. Kern,	44,	Nazareth,	
1862, Feb 12,	Anthony Goth,	37,	Bethlehem,	1878, Oct. 15.
April 30,	Herman Yost,	49,	"	
1863, May 5,	J. Augustus Beck,	32,	Harrisburg,	
	Abraham R. Beck,	29,	Lititz,	
	Gerhard Wessels,	34,	New York,	
	William A. Liliendahl,	—,	"	
June 9,	James H. Wolle,	35,	Bethlehem,	1875, June 26.
June 29,	Christian H. Belling,	43,	"	
	Robert P. Krause,	33,	"	1866, Feb. 24.
Oct. 22,	Edmund de Schweinitz,	38,	Lititz,	
1864, Feb. 22,	Joseph H. Træger,	26,	Bethlehem,	
Feb. 29,	J. Frederick Frueauff,	25,	Hollidaysburg, Pa.,	
July 4,	Orville A. Grider,	31,	Bethlehem,	
Aug. 11,	John Souders,	32,	Lititz,	
Sept. 2,	John J. Regennas,	46,	Schœneck,	
Sept. 19,	George T. Greider,	49,	Lititz,	
Sept. 26,	John F. Warman,	51,	Westfield,	
1865, Jan. 16,	Franz A. Gerstner,	38,	Bethlehem,	
Jan. 21,	Henry T. Bachman,	29,	Sharon, Ohio,	
	Henry P. Hamman,	32,	Bethlehem,	
	Henry S. Krause,	38,	"	
Jan. 31,	Abraham S. Schropp,	23,	"	
	Charles H. Eggert,	34,	Philadelphia,	
	James H. Wilhelm,	34,	Mauch Chunk,	
Feb. 22,	Maurice C. Jones,	54,	Bethlehem,	
March 2,	Oliver T. Sturgis,	—,	Lititz,	
	Jacob A. Sturgis,	—,	"	1873, June 25.
March 11,	F. Wilhelm Lelansky,	49,	Bethlehem,	
March 14,	James Christ,	53,	Emmaus,	1868, ———
April 10,	Nicholas Hauck,	53,	Bethlehem,	
July 12,	Robert W. de Schweinitz,	45,	Salem, N. C.,	
July 31,	George Knauss,	51,	Nazareth,	——— ———
Aug. 22,	Augustus Belling,	57,	Bethlehem,	
Sept. 11,	Albert L. Oerter,	28,	Canal Dover, O.,	
Sept. 20,	Samuel T. Beam,	58,	Lancaster,	1873, ———
Dec. 13,	Eugene P. Greider,	40,	Graceham,	
	Edward T. Kluge,	34,	Nazareth,	
Dec. 21,	Clement L. Reinke,	31,	Chaska, Minn.,	
	Edwin T. Senseman,	47,	Hope, Ind.,	1866, Feb. 8.
Dec. 23,	Edwin E. Reinke,	41,	Olney, Ill.,	
	Charles Klosè,	38,	Philadelphia,	
1866, Jan. 2,	James Haman,	28,	Gnadenhütten,	
Feb. 15,	J. Franklin Krause,	44,	Bethlehem,	
March 3,	Philip H. Gapp,	46,	Progress, N. J.,	
	Martin A. Erdman,	42,	New York,	1878, ———
March 7,	Frederick A. Clauder,	28,	Bethlehem,	1875, May 13.
March 14,	Henry E. Weinland,	35,	"	
April 24,	Parmenio L. Leinback,	35,	Friedland, N. C.,	
April 30,	John A. Friebele,	49,	Mount Bethel, Va.,	
May 14,	Ambrose J. Erwin,	36,	Bethlehem,	
May 30,	Lewis A. Gerlach,	46,	"	
June 14,	John Græff,	48,	Lebanon,	

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1866, Aug. 9,	Henry Gottlieb Clauder,	60,	Bethlehem,	
Sept. 4,	Charles W. Sturgis,	49,	Lititz,	
1867, March 15,	Christian Thomas Pfohl,	28,	Salem, N. C.,	
March 30,	William N. Amer,	32,	Lancaster,	
May 21,	Sylvester Belling,	45,	Bethlehem,	
June 13,	Benjamin Van Kirk,	40,	"	
	Gottlieb F. Oehler,	50,	"	
July 4,	Francis R. Holland,	47,	Hope, Ind.,	
Aug. 26,	Samuel L. Thæler,	27,	Barbadoes, W. I.,	
Oct. 1,	Henry W. Rupp,	30,	Philadelphia,	
Oct. 17,	Lewis Christian Rights,	47,	Bethania, N. C.,	
Nov. 22,	John W. Jordan,	27,	Philadelphia,	
1868, Jan. 6,	John Evans,	42,	Carbon Co., Pa.,	
Feb. 25,	Ferdinand D. Rickert,	47,	Lititz,	
	George W. Hepp,	34,	"	
Feb. 28,	Lewis R. Huebner,	37,	Bethlehem,	1874, Mar. 28.
July 7,	J. Theophilus Zorn,	27,	Jamaica, W. I.,	
Sept. 7,	Josiah Transue,	43,	Bethlehem,	
Nov. 27,	Francis W. Knauss,	28,	Moravia, Iowa,	1872, July 15.
Dec. 15,	Henry Shelly,	35,	Bethlehem,	
1869, Jan. 25,	Edmund A. Oerter,	26,	Lebanon,	
March 4,	A. M. Iverson,	46,	Fort Howard, Wis.,	
March 24,	H. A. Brickenstein,	34,	Bethlehem,	
March 27,	James Henry,	60,	Nazareth,	
1870, Feb. 11,	Morris A. Borhek,	27,	Bethlehem,	
Feb. 23,	C. Edward Kummer,	36,	"	
March 9,	Traugott Crist,	53,	Salem, N. C.,	
March 24,	Isaac Walp,	42,	Bethlehem,	1879, June 18.
April 8,	Henry Regennas,	49,	Lititz,	
June 25,	David Brunner,	45,	"	
Oct. 6,	Francis W. Meller,	51,	Salem, N. C.,	
	Alfred Crist,	42,	Bethlehem,	
Dec 12,	Jacob Diehm,	71,	Lititz,	
1871, Jan. 2,	Theodore F. Wolle,	39,	Bethlehem,	
Jan. 11,	Cyrus E. Breder,	29,	"	
	Francis E. Luckenbach,	32,	"	
Feb. 14,	Geo. Henry Hanna,	37,	Jamaica, W. I.,	
	Theodore Sonderman,	43,	New York,	
Feb. 21,	John W. Hunter,	44,	Salem, N. C.,	
April 19,	John H. Smith,	37,	West Salem, Ill.,	
	Franklin C. Stout,	34,	Bethlehem,	
May 17,	Henry J. Bardill,	42,	Nazareth,	
May 22,	Julius Schrader,	50,	Bethlehem,	1871, Aug. 4.
May 30,	Wm. Henry Rice,	30,	York, Pa.,	
Aug. 17,	C. Edward Peisert,	49,	Bethlehem,	
Aug. 22,	Edward Rondthaler,	29,	Brooklyn,	
Nov. 22,	Alexander C. Morrish,	36,	St. Jan, W. I.,	
1872, Feb. 5,	C. Otto Brunner,	41,	Bethlehem,	
March 5,	Edward T. Meyers,	39,	"	
July 11,	Benjamin Romig,	38,	St. Croix, W. I.,	
1873, Jan. 6,	Alexander Meinung,	49,	Salem, N. C.,	
Jan. 27,	John W. Fries,	26,	"	
	Edward E. Hœber,	33,	Nazareth,	
Feb. 28,	John F. Beitel,	26,	"	
April 17,	J. F. Augustus Schultze,	33,	Bethlehem,	
June 3,	Edward J. Regennas,	27,	Unionville, Mich.,	
July 28,	Theodore O. Fradeneck,	38,	Bethlehem,	
	Massah M. Warner,	37,	Philadelphia,	
Dec. 11,	Elisha Ward Shields,	26,	Gracehill, Iowa,	

Admitted.	*Name.*	*Age and Residence when admitted.*		*Departed.*
1873, Dec. 26,	George Henry Tombler,	43,	Easton, Pa.,	
	Charles Edward Tombler,	37,	Evansville, Ind.,	
1874, Jan. 14,	G. Herman Reck,	57,	Bethlehem,	
Feb. 2,	Joseph J. Ricksecker,	29,	Olney, Ill.,	
March 6,	John C. Israel,	54,	West Salem,	
April 8,	Jacob Kratzer,	44,	Bethlehem,	
April 20,	Joseph A. Rice,	30,	"	
	Augustus S Bishop,	27,	"	
June 12,	M. Eugene Grunert,	51,	Salem, N. C.,	
July 7,	Gustav Adolph Reich,	37,	Bethlehem,	
July 13,	Matthias T. Huebner,	48,	Lititz,	
July 27,	James A. Butner,	44,	Hope, Ind.,	
Aug. 5,	William H. Oerter,	26,	South Bethlehem,	
	James S. Luckenbach,	37,	Bethlehem,	
	Edward H. Jacobson,	43,	"	
	Louis Eysenbach,	55,	"	
	Robert Rau,	29,	"	
Sept. 14,	Cornelius W. Krause,	37,	"	
	C. F. Hartman,	54,	Nazareth,	
	Edwin G. Klosè,	29,	Bethlehem,	
1875, Jan. 13,	William C. Tietze,	32,	West Salem, Ill.,	
Jan. 30,	C. F. Plessing,	59,	Greenbay, Wis.,	
March 29,	O. T. Huebner,	40,	Lititz,	
	Philip F. Rommel,	40,	Palmyra, N. J.,	
	Lewis P. Clewell,	32,	Graceham,	
July 21,	David O. Luckenbach,	42,	Bethlehem,	
	Jacob B. Staufer,	31,	Manheim, Pa.,	
July 24,	William Chapman,	59,	Bethlehem,	
Aug. 16,	S. C. Wolle,	50,	Hokendauqua,	
Oct. 30,	John Wœrner,	40,	Bethlehem,	
Nov. 22,	Nathaniel Siewers,	30,	Salem, N. C.,	
1876, June 12,	John Samuel Krause,	28,	Bethlehem,	
	Isaac L. Ritter,	55,	Philadelphia,	
Aug. 18,	Adam H. Hambright,	59,	Lititz,	
Oct. 25,	F. T. Niebert,	—,	Antigua, W. I.,	
Dec. 18,	William E. Kreider,	48,	Lancaster,	
1877, Jan. 3,	Edwin P. Bishop,	27,	Bethlehem,	
May 22,	Abraham T. Beam,	49,	Lancaster,	
Aug. 6,	Robert W. Herbst,	26,	Gracehill, Iowa,	
Oct. 2,	Haydn H. Tschudy,	37,	Lititz,	
	Ashton C. Borhek,	40,	Bethlehem,	
	W. Emil Doster,	40,	"	
Dec. 3,	David Müller,	54,	West Salem, Ill.,	
	Edwin M. Boring,	38,	Philadelphia,	
Dec. 21,	Samuel E. Grosh,	42,	Lititz,	
1878, Jan. 24,	William T. Vogler,	34,	Salem, N. C.,	
April 25,	Levin F. Leibfried,	37,	Nazareth,	
1879, March 8,	Herman A. Doster,	46,	Bethlehem,	
April 24,	J. Maximilian Hark,	29,	Philadelphia,	
June 19,	Jacob H. Beck,	49,	Nazareth,	
Sept. 21,	Henry T. Bahnson,	34,	Salem, N. C.,	
Dec. 26,	Edward H. Luckenbach,	30,	Bethlehem,	
	Augustus H. Leibert,	31,	"	

APPENDIX II.

A LIST OF THE BENEFICIARIES OF THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM, FROM ITS ORGANIZATION UP TO DECEMBER 31ST, 1879.

Name.	*Received her first Annuity.*	*Departed or Remarried.*
Elizabeth Poppellwell,	1772,	1812, March 26.
Susanna C. Berndt,	"	Married J. G. Hartman, 1776.
Mary B. Nitschman,	1773,	1810, January 20.
Anna Magd. Hafner,	"	1797, May 22.
Anna Herr,	"	Remarried in 1774.
Mary Horsfield,	"	1773, October 14.
Gertraut Schneider,	1774,	1803, November 16.
Maria Tiersch,	1775,	Remarried in 1780.
Mary E. Engler,	1776,	" 1777.
Marianna Rœsler,	"	1804, September 22.
Martha Hussey,	"	1790, December 19.
Sarah Utley,	"	1791, May 25.
Rosina Bachhof,	1777,	Remarried in 1780.
Anna Maria Thræne,	"	1783, April 13.
Elizabeth Langgaard,	"	1785, December 17.
Philippine Weinland,	"	1790, November 29.
Mary Digeon,	"	1793, August 15.
Margaret Ears,	"	1779, November 19.
Catharine Graff,	"	1798, January 15.
Anna Maria Schenk,	"	Remarried in 1783.
Christine Vetter,	1778,	1791, May 23.
Anna Maria Kunkler,	"	1784, November 17.
Johanna Schmick,	"	1795, August 7.
Catharine Mœller,	"	1797, December 31.
Anna Catharine Reuter,	"	Remarried in July, 1780.
Anna Ricksecker,	"	1786, April 24.
Mary Fockel,	1779,	Remarried in 1779.
Magdalene "the Moor," (Widow of Andrew the Negro.)	"	1820, January 4.
Anna Unger,	1780,	Married Francis Bœhler, 1785.
Phœbe Payne,	"	1799, ——— ——
Maria Schulze,	"	Remarried in 1783.
Judith Otto,	"	1786, January 27.
Catharine Haidt,	"	1782, September 14.
M. Apollona Eggert,	"	1810, August 17.
Anna Maria Miller,	"	1789, June 20.
Barbara Bœckel,	1781,	Married P. Münster, 1781.
A. Regina Hayne,	"	1783, May 13.
Lucia Spohn,	1782,	1788, December 15.
Mary Anne Garrison,	"	1790, March 9.
Anna Maria Stœhr,	"	1804, August 30.
Mary Catharine Lischer,	"	1802, May 19.
Mary Justina Meyer,	"	1787, April 29
Anna Johanna Seidel,	"	1788, April 11.
Anna Helene Haberland,	"	1787, December 7.

Name.	*Received her first Annuity.*	*Departed or Remarried.*
Anna Maria Bonn,	1782,	1815, May 11.
Anna Lœsch,	1783,	1817, January 2.
Helene Schnell,	"	1794, July 30.
Catharine Stoz,	"	1786, December 14.
Gertraut Graff,	"	1784, February 21.
Sybilla Beck,	"	1805, July 2.
Anne Mary Hall,	1784,	Married G. Lange, 1785, and David Tanneberg, 1800.
Catharine Mau,	"	1799, February 14.
Agnes Fischer,	"	1788, April 23.
Maria A. Weber,	"	1808, December 27.
Theodora Neisser,	1785,	1807, September 8.
Anna C. Hancke,	"	1806, May 19.
Maria Michler,	"	1796, May 8.
Anna Maria Michler,	"	1786 April 3.
Margaret C. Lembke,	1786,	1798, April 20.
Magdalene Dealing,	"	1807, March 28.
Susanna Nixdorf,	"	1800, November 28.
Dorothea Schmidt,	"	1790, October 17.
Anna Henry,	1787,	1799, March 18.
Maria Frank,	"	1804, December 7.
A. Maria Werner,	"	1825, ——— ——
Regina Zahm,	1788,	1790, January 20.
Rosina Stach,	"	1800, March 22.
Barbara Heckedorn,	1789,	1793, November 1.
Helene Gambold,	"	1792, April 6.
Juliane Horsfield,	"	1809, January 17.
Mary E. Pitschman,	"	1790, October 25.
Elizabeth Schank,	1790,	1793, November 28.
Anna Maria Huber,	"	1794, April 26.
Gertrude Sydrich,	"	1812, October 5.
Magdalena Jansen,	1791,	Married John Grosh, 1796.
Barbara Wiesinger,	"	1804, November 28.
Maria J. Lœsch,	"	1813, October 15.
Anna Maria Peter,	"	1801, January 10.
Anna M. Borhek,	"	1807, March 21.
Anne Mary Lange,	1792,	Married D. Tanneberg, 1800.
Maria Rothe,	"	1805, February 25.
Catharina Krause,	"	1807, September 17.
Margaretha Schlosser,	"	1795, February 13.
Hannah R. Schober,	1793,	1800, January 8.
Salome Gump,	"	1793, September 20.
Barbara Münster,	"	1829, August 16.
Sarah Bartow,	"	1818, ——— ——
Beata Schmidt,	"	1814, July 6.
Rosina Neisser,	"	1797, February 20.
Elizabeth Peter,	1794,	1806, April 29.
Patience von Erd,	"	1820, April 15.
Anna M. Schnekenburger,	1795,	1834, February 24.
Elizabeth Dencke,	"	1820, February 11.
Elizabeth Mœhring,	1797,	1825, ——— ——
Mary Weiss,	"	1803, March 26.
Christine Rauch,	"	1807, October 23.
Elizabeth Giers,	"	1817, September 11,
Anna M. Hasse,	"	1813, April 1.
Maria Rusmeyer,	1798,	1804, September 24.
Grace Thorp,	"	1805, March 18.
A. Elizabeth Klingsohr,	1799,	1835, ——— ——
Anna Maria Eyerle,	1800,	Married Matthew Hancke, 1805.
Dorothea Meyer,	1801,	1803, November 22.

Name.	*Received her first Annuity.*	*Departed or Remarried.*
Rosina Stoll,	1801,	1811, June 27.
Christine D. Detmers,	1802,	1814, July 26.
Sarah Horsfield,	"	1822, July 27.
A. D. E. von Schweinitz,	"	1813, May 10.
Elizabeth Albrecht,	"	1830, ——— ——
M. E. Reizenbach,	1803,	1809, May 16.
Eleonora Andreas.	"	1804, September 14.
M. Elizabeth Blum,	"	1817, July 17.
Anne Mary Heckewelder,	"	1823, January 20.
Christine E. Mœhring,	1804,	1823, August 5.
Frederica M. Christ,	1805,	1811, December 16.
Elizabeth Schropp,	1806,	1819, March 25.
Anna M. Kornmann,	"	1809, November 4.
Sarah Smith,	"	1823, September 5.
Mary Barbara Christ,	"	1818, ——— ——
A. Catharine Bœhler,	"	1810, June 22.
Anna Bœhler,	"	1809, May 10.
Elizabeth Œlln,	"	1806, August 2.
Christiana Bievighausen,	1807,	1836, ——— ——
Elizabeth Wohlfahrt,	1808.	1812, August 26.
Sarah L'Joungberg,	1809,	1820, May 13.
A. M. Sweishaupt,	"	1810, May 15.
Magdalena Schindler,	"	1825. April 13.
Johanna Weinecke,	1811,	1816, January 11.
Elizabeth Weiss.	1812,	1844, October 14.
Dorothea S. Benzien,	"	1832, August 3.
Elizabeth Hauser,	"	1814, June 21.
M. Catharine Blum,	1813,	1827, March 18.
A. Catharine Peter,	1814,	1830, November 23.
Catharine Rubel,	"	1815, December 11
Anna Maria Weiss,	"	1824, November 11.
Barbara Thomas,	(Husband died Nov. 20, 1815.)	1815, December 29.
Anna Barbara Bœckel,	1816,	1823, May 10.
Margarethe Schnall,	1820,	1848, April 7.
Elizabeth Stotz,	1821,	1826, August 27.
Anna Johanna Miller,	"	1822, August 30.
A. Catharine Schrœder,	"	1834, ——— ——
Sabina Henry,	"	1848, May 8.
Johanna Knauss	1823,	1831, December 31.
A. Sybilla Kremser,	1824,	1849, April 22.
M. Dorothea Warner,	"	1826, August 20.
Elizabeth Træger,	"	1848, ——— ——
Susanna E. Kramsch,	"	1831, ——— ——
Maria Jones,	1825,	1831, December 23.
Rachel Peterson,	"	1839, ——— ——
Elizabeth Rudolphi,	"	1868, October 26.
Dorothy Siewers,	"	1855, ——— ——
Catharine Schneider,	1826,	1846, ——— ——
Salome Langballe,	"	Married J. C. Ebbecke, 1829.
Susanna Lehnert,	"	1846, ——— ——
Maria Sauter,	"	1863, April 17.
Rebecca Schropp,	1827,	1828, August 25
Elizabeth Fetter,	"	1855, February 21.
Rosina Bischoff,	1828,	1832, May 21.
Catharine Strohle,	"	1852, ——— ——
Anna Maria Eggert,	"	1832, July 30.
Verona Gœtz,	"	1855, ——— ——
Maria Borhek,	"	1868, October 12.
Anna Juliana Christ,	"	1859, ——— ——
Rachel Schneckenburg,	1829,	1856, March 8.

Name.	*Received her first Annuity.*	*Departed or Remarried.*
Susanna Schulz,	1830,	1839, August 5.
Benigna S. Cunow,	"	1836, —— ——
Elizabeth Esterlein,	"	1831, August 23.
Johanna S. Hœber,	1831,	1843, —— ——
Rosina Hübner,	"	1860, January 21.
Agnes Luch,	"	1843, November 2.
Anna S. Jundt,	1832,	1855, January 18.
A. Salome Rice,	"	1857, January 15.
Maria Eggert,	"	1854, December 31.
Elizabeth Schuster,	"	1853, —— ——
Anna M. Kampmann,	1833,	1836, February 21.
Lydia Rice,	"	
Charity Benzien,	"	1863, December 20.
Sarah J. Reinke,	"	1852, October 11.
L. Amelia v. Schweinitz,	1834,	1858, October 28.
Elizabeth Lichtenthæler,	"	1858, —— ——
Maria M. Schmid,	"	Remarried, 1834.
Mary Reichel,	"	1855, —— — ——
Magdalena Suess,	1835,	1845, —— — ——
Elizabeth Horsfield,	"	1836, August 30.
Anna C. Levering,	"	1849, October 8.
Anna E. Senseman,	"	1857, —— ——
Bethia Mortimer,	"	1848, —— ——
Mary Henry,	1837,	1871, —— — ——
Elizabeth Eder,	"	Remarried, 1838.
Theodora Beear,	"	1856, November 18.
Sarah Lange,	"	1848, January 7.
Susanna Vogenitz,	1838,	1864, January 31.
Salome Ebbecke,	"	1862, —— — ——
Susanna Bachman,	"	1865, June 22.
Maria Denke,	"	1868, November —
Elizabeth Pfohl,	"	1850, September 4.
Mary Ann Collis,	"	1861, —— — ——
Sophia M. Damus,	"	1870, —— — ——.
Elizabeth Hartman,	1839,	1863, —— — ——
Lucinda Træger,	"	
Margaret Kunkler,	"	1842, April 20.
Amalia Muecke,	1840,	
Cornelia Schropp,	1841,	
Anna Weiss,	"	1844, May 11.
Caroline Lœffler,	"	1849, —— — ——
M. Elizabeth Kern,	1842,	1868, August 21.
Eliza Ann Oppelt,	"	Remarried.
Maria Schaaf,	"	1845, —— — ——
Catharine Welfare,	"	
Maria Hueffel,	"	1858, —— — ——
Catharine Schneller,	1843,	1857, —— — ——
Rosina Sweishaupt,	"	1843, —— — ——
Caroline Zorn,	"	1862, August 28.
Susan Hagen,	1844,	1853, June —
Sally Christ,	1845,	1865, —— — ——
Susan Sturgis,	"	1873, —— — ——
Rebecca Horsfield,	"	1845, February 14.
Eliza Cooper,	"	
Christine Van Vleck,	"	1877, April 19.
Elizabeth Scholefield,	1846,	1866, December 28.
Salome Freytag,	"	1861, October 29.
Anne Schober,	"	1868, January 2.
Elizabeth Sparmeyer,	"	1864, —— — ——
Maria B. Hohe,	"	1872, —— ——

Name.	*Received her first Annuity.*	*Departed or Remarried.*
Maria Smith,	1847,	1866, July 16.
Christina Rondthaler,	"	1854, ——— ——
Frederica Guetter,	"	
Mary Knauss,	1848,	1855, August 20.
Rosina Beitel,	"	1850, ——— ——
Catharine Hall,	"	1855, ——— ——
Theresia Anders,	"	1848–49, ———
Maria L. Ham,	1849,	1872, ——— ——
Maria Rondthaler,	"	
Johanna Bœnhof,	"	1872, ——— ——
Lydia Weiss,	"	
Rosina Fuehrer,	"	1850, ——— ——
Sarah Huebner,	"	1867, May 25.
Julia Rice,	"	1873, ——— ——
Susanna Stadiger,	1850,	1850, September 9.
Juliet Rickert,	"	Remarried in 1862.
Mary Bleck,	"	Remarried in 1850–51.
Elizabeth Luchenbach,	"	1867, December 1.
Elizabeth Weber,	"	1851, January 7.
Mary Shultz,	"	
Antonie Freytag,	1851,	1876, ——— ——
Josephine Rice,	"	
Elizabeth Hillman,	1852,	1870, February 26.
C. Elizabeth Goundie,	"	1853, January 3.
Susanna Luckenbach,	"	1867, February 8.
Elizabeth Mehr,	"	1854, ——— ——
Johanna Meinung,	"	1859, ——— ——
Dorothea Staude,	"	1868, July —
Mary Stadiger,	"	1878, ——— ——
Elizabeth Van Vleck,	1853,	1865, January 31.
Catharine Tschudy,	"	1865, October 23.
Henriette Kryder,	"	1872, ——— ——
Maria Keller,	"	
Dorothea Bishop,	1854,	
M. Dorothea Brown,	"	1870, February 8.
Aurelia Kaucher,	"	1863, April 23.
Rosina Luckenbach,	"	1862, November 3.
Pauline Herman,	"	1868, ——— ——
Ernstine Lichtenthæler,	1855,	1866, July 19.
Ann Eliza Fetter,	"	
Louisa C. Blickensderfer,	1856,	
Maria Klosè,	"	1859, October 26.
Rebecca Haman,	"	1873, June 27.
Christine Schulz,	1857,	1862, ——— ——
Angelica Lehman,	"	
Anna E. Eberman,	"	
Maria Kummer,	"	1863, January 20.
Julia Grider,	1858,	1877, ——— ——
Anna J. Meller,	1859,	
Catharine Bardill,	"	1868, ——— ——
Francis Neisser,	"	1867, May 17.
Matilda L. Knauss,	1860,	1871, ——— ——
Mary L. Ritter,	"	1870, ——— ——
Pauline Doster,	"	1879, July 5.
Maria Sophia Zippel,	"	1862, ——— ——
Lisetta Bishop,	"	1870, March 18.
Maria Eggert,	"	
Sarah Gold,	"	
Rebecca Kluge,	1861,	
Justine Christ,	1862,	1862, ——— ——

Name.	*Received her first Annuity.*	*Departed or Remarried.*
Lizetta Rauch,	1863,	1867, May 28.
Eliza Wolle,	"	1867, June 28.
Lisette Fries,	1864,	
Lydia Leibert,	"	
Magdalene Oerter,	"	
Phœbe Brown,	1865,	
Brigitta Buchner,	"	
Mary Miller,	"	1872, —— ——
Adeline A. Krause,	"	1867, June 13.
Sophia Stadiger,	1866,	
A. Elizabeth Oerter,	"	1879, June 20.
Sarah Senseman,	"	1875, —— ——
Sarah Haman,	"	1876, —— ——
Hortensia Krause,	"	
Esther Lange,	"	
Caroline Tschudy,	"	1873, —— ——
Christine Rauch,	"	1876, —— ——
Mathilda A. Siewers,	1867,	
Jemima Kreider,	1868,	
Sarah L. Christ,	"	
Augusta W. Wœhler,	"	Remarried, 1871.
Caroline Rice,	1869,	
Eliza Ann Beitel,	"	Remarried, 1878.
Louisa Bahnson,	1870,	
Elizabeth Lueders,	"	1874, August —
Frances Hoch,	"	
Rebecca Youngman,	"	1876, —— ——
Julianna Bealer,	"	
Lydia Beitel,	"	
Justina Huebner,	"	
Lizetta Jacobson,	1871,	
Mary C. Busse,	"	
Josephine Luckenbach,	"	
Mary Ann Clewell,	"	
Mary Ann Bachman,	"	
Anna Susanna Pfohl,	"	1872, —— ——
Caroline Knauss,	1872,	Remarried in 1876.
Sarah A. Schrader,	"	1872, August 10.
Mary A. Vogler,	"	
C. L. Ziock,	"	1875, —— ——
Johanna A. Beck,	1873,	1877, February 28.
Elizabeth Andress,	"	
Caroline Wolle,	"	1876, May 18.
Catharine Malthaner,	"	
Susan Beam,	"	
Sarah A. Meyers,	"	
Caroline Giering,	1874,	
Louisa Huebner,	"	
Ann Eliza Pfohl,	"	1876, July 4.
Eliza Thræn,	"	1874, May —
Elizabeth Krause,	1875,	1877, July 13.
Eliza Trœger,	"	
Sarah Kern,	"	
Sarah E. Bishop,	"	
Catharine Masslich,	"	
Laura Clauder,	"	
Theodora Beckler,	"	
Christianne Weniger,	"	
Amelia Wolle,	"	
Elizabeth Bigler,	"	

Name.	*Received her first Annuity.*	*Departed or Remarried.*
Anna Rosina Weinland,	1875,	
Christina Fetter,	1876,	
Maria Michel,	"	
Emma A. Vogler,	"	
Emilia Schaffner,	1877,	
Augusta Daily,	"	
Charlotte Reichel,	"	
Charlotte Goundie,	"	
Mary Reichel,	1878,	
A. M. Erdmann,	"	
Cornelia Wolle,	"	
Ellen Goth,	"	
Clara Frueauff,	1879,	
Sarah Rau,	"	
Augusta Rauch,	"	
Caroline Walp,	"	
Sophia A. de Schweinitz,	"	
Caroline Kleckner.	"	

APPENDIX III.

ACT OF INCORPORATION AND BY-LAWS OF THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM.

1. *AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM.*

WHEREAS it is represented to the Legislature, that a number of persons, members of the Episcopal Church of the United Brethren, resident at Bethlehem and elsewhere, have formed a Society for the humane and charitable purpose of ministering to the wants and alleviating the distress of their widows, and pray to be incorporated:

Therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That JOSEPH RICE, the present President of *The Widows' Society of Bethlehem,* DAVID BISCHOFF, CHRISTIAN BORHECK, OWEN RICE, jun., JOHN FR. RAUCH, SAMUEL STIPE, JOHN HENRY SCHULTZ, JOHN SNYDER, and DAVID P. SCHNELLER, the present Directors thereof, together with all such persons as heretofore have been, or hereafter shall be duly admitted members of the said Society, agreeable to the Constitution and Fundamental Articles thereof, be, and they hereby are incorporated into a Society, by the name, style and title of "*The Widows' Society of Bethlehem,*" and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and all the rights, powers and privileges incident by law to a corporation.

SECTION 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the said Corporation and their successors, by the name, style and title aforesaid, shall forever hereafter be able and capable in law to purchase, have, receive, take, hold and enjoy, in fee simple or for a less estate or estates, any lands, tenements, rents, annuities, liberties, franchises and other hereditaments, by the gift, grant, bargain, sale, alienation, enfeoffment, release, confirmation or devise of any person or persons, bodies politic and corporate, capable and able to make the same, and further, that the said corporation and their successors may take and receive any sum or sums of money, goods and chattels, that have been, or hereafter shall be given or bequeathed to them by any person or persons,

bodies politic or corporate, able and capable to make a bequest or gift thereof; *Provided,* That no misnomer of the said corporation and their successors, shall defeat or annul any gift, grant, devise or bequest to the said corporation, if the intent of the donor shall sufficiently appear upon the face of the gift, testament or other writing whereby any estate or interest was intended to pass to the said corporation; nor shall any non-user of the rights, liberties, privileges and authorities or any of them, hereby granted to the said corporation, create or cause a forfeiture thereof; *Provided nevertheless,* That the clear yearly value or income of the messuages, houses, lands and tenements, rents, annuities and other hereditaments and real estate of the said corporation, and the interest of the money lent by the same, shall not exceed the sum of *Six thousand dollars.*

SECTION 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the said corporation and their successors shall have full power and authority to make, have and use one common seal, with such device and inscription as they shall think proper, and the same to break, alter and renew at their pleasure.

SECTION 4. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the following be, and they are hereby declared to be the Constitution and Fundamental Articles of the said Society, *that is to say:*

ARTICLES.

ARTICLE I.

The Society shall consist of those persons, being members of the Episcopal Church of the United Brethren, who shall, in the first instance, subscribe this Constitution, and of such as may hereafter be admitted as members thereof, according to the rules hereinafter prescribed.

ARTICLE II.

Candidates for membership shall be nominated either at the meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors hereinafter appointed. The said Board of Directors shall make due inquiry as to the bodily health and fitness of the candidate, and if so many members of the Society or of the Board of Directors as shall be prescribed by the by-laws, vote in favor of admission, the candidate shall be admitted, upon complying with the other regulations which shall be prescribed for admission by the by-laws.

None but married men, who are members of the United Brethren, or who, not being such themselves, live in matrimony with a person being a member of the said Church of the United Brethren, shall be admitted as members of this Society. But only such as are members of the said United Brethren, shall have a vote upon any question respecting the concerns of this Society, or be eligible as officers of the same.

ARTICLE III.

Each member shall, at the time of his admission, and every year during the time of his membership, pay to the Treasurer, for the use of this Society, such sum or sums as shall be directed by the by-laws; and provision may be made by the by-laws, for the exemption of members reduced in their circumstances from the annual payments, during their inability.

ARTICLE IV.

The moneys paid by the members at the time of their admission or re-admission, as well as all grants, gifts, donations and bequests to this Society, shall, from time to time, be invested in productive funds, or loaned on interest, as shall be directed by the by-laws, and the interest arising on the said capital stock, as well as the yearly contributions of the members, shall be distributed to the widows, relicts of deceased members of the Society, in such a manner as shall be prescribed by the by-laws, but the said capital stock shall at all times remain entire and inviolate, as long as this Society shall exist.

ARTICLE V.

Seven Directors, a Treasurer, a Secretary and three Auditors, shall be elected by ballot at the stated meeting in every year. Whenever any of the said offices shall become vacant, the vacancy shall be filled by a new election at the next stated meeting after the vacancy shall have happened, or, in case of urgency, at a special meeting of the Society, to be called for the purpose. The said seven Directors, together with the Treasurer and Secretary aforesaid, shall constitute a Board to superintend the general concerns of the Society, and, at their first meeting after each election shall choose one of the said seven Directors as President. Provision shall be made in the by-laws for conducting the affairs of the Society, if at any time the same shall be so much reduced in number, as to make it impracticable to constitute a Board of Directors, as herein before directed.

ARTICLE VI.

The duties of all the officers shall be such as are implied in their titles, and shall be prescribed by the by-laws.

ARTICLE VII.

The Society shall hold its stated meeting on the first Thursday in the month of July, in every year. Adjourned and special meetings may be held, as shall be provided for by the by-laws.

ARTICLE VIII.

A member may be expelled for unfaithful, immoral or unworthy conduct, by the votes of two-thirds of the voting members present; but eighteen of the voting members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the purpose of such trial, which shall not be held, unless a written notice of the facts charged shall have been given to the party accused, at least thirty days before the time of such trial. It is, however, expressly decreed, that the right, interest and claim of the widow of any expelled member to the benefits accruing from this Society, shall, in no instance, be impaired or defeated by such expulsion, provided all the dues prescribed by the by-laws be regularly paid during the life of any such expelled member, but not otherwise.

ARTICLE IX.

This Constitution shall be subscribed by every member at the time of his admission, and the time of his subscribing, with the name of the place of his residence and his age, shall be noted opposite to his name, and each member shall receive a certificate of his membership, certified by the President, and attested by the Secretary; with the seal of the Society affixed. and a printed copy of this constitution and the by-laws.

ARTICLE X.

It is unalterably and irrevocably decreed, that, if any unforeseen accident or other cause should ever occasion a dissolution of this Society, which, however, shall not be understood to have taken place, until all the members thereof, and all and every the widows, entitled to the benefits thereof, shall have become extinct, the funds of the Society, without diminution or defalcation, shall be divided into two equal parts; one moiety whereof shall be transferred to, and become the property of, such committee or committees of the several Congregations of the United Brethren in the United States, as shall have been appointed by the voting members of such Congregations respectively, to take care of their widows, in trust and for the use of such widows; and the other moiety thereof shall, in like manner, be transferred to such committee or committees in the aforesaid Congregations, which shall have been appointed in the same manner as aforesaid, to take care of the education of their children and to administer the funds established for that purpose, in trust and for the use of their schools; each of these moieties to be divided amongst the aforesaid committees, in proportion to the number of families resident in the aforesaid Congregations respectively at the time of such transfer; on condition, nevertheless, that the said funds, so as aforesaid transferred to the said committees, be kept entire and unimpaired by them and every and each of them, and the interest thereof only be applied to the uses and purposes aforesaid. And to the faithful execution of this article, according to its true intent and meaning, we, the subscribers, and each of us, hold ourselves, collectively and individually, firmly bound.

SECTION 5. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the said Society shall have power to make by-laws, as well as to carry into effect the provisions herein contained, as for the effectual and convenient conduct of the affairs of the Society; *Provided*, That the same be not repugnant to the Constitution and Laws of the United States or of this Commonwealth: *And provided*, That no by-laws shall be enacted, altered or repealed, but at a stated meeting, nor unless fifteen of the voting members shall be present at such stated meeting: *And provided*, That the by-laws already made and now in force in the said Society, shall continue and be in force until altered or repealed in manner herein before declared: *And provided also*, That no by-law shall ever be made to alter the nature, or impair the binding force of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution hereby enacted.

SECTION 6. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That the estates and funds of every description of the existing Association or associated Society, called "*The Widows' Society of Bethlehem*," be, and they are hereby declared to be vested in the Society incorporated by

this act, in full property, and subject to the disposal thereof agreeably to the provision herein before contained. *Provided always,* That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to impair or diminish the responsibility of any individual or individuals, for the payment of any debts contracted for this Society, and by its order, for which he would have been otherwise liable.

JNO. GILMORE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
WM. MARKS, JUN.,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved, March the seventh, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.

JOSEPH HIESTER.

2. *BY-LAWS OF THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM.*

SECTION I.

The President shall preside in the meetings of the Society, and in those of the Board of Directors, and when the members are equally divided upon any question, he shall have a casting vote, but no other. In case of his absence, a chairman shall be chosen, who shall preside *pro tempore.*

SECTION II.

The Treasurer shall receive all moneys, donations, bequests, and evidences of debt belonging to the Society, and all interest and dividends arising therefrom, and keep proper accounts thereof in a book or books provided for that purpose; he shall pay all proper drafts for contingent expenses; he shall submit an abstract of his receipts and disbursements to the yearly stated meeting of the Society, after his accounts have been previously examined and approved by the Auditor; and his accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the Board of Directors or any member thereof. Before entering upon the discharge of the duties of his office, he shall execute a bond to the Society, with such security and for such amount as shall be deemed sufficient by the Board of Directors, conditioned for the faithful performance of the duties of his office. He shall be liable, for cause, to be removed from office by the Board of Directors; in which case the vacancy shall be filled in conformity with the Fifth Article of the Constitution or Fundamental Rules of the Society.

[Amended July 3rd, 1846.]

SECTION III.

The Secretary shall carry on such correspondence with persons or associations at a distance, as shall be directed by the Society or the Board of Directors. He shall preserve copies of all letters, which shall be written in the prosecution of his duty, regularly filed or recorded; as well as all letters and written communications, received by him in his official capacity; all of which shall at all times be subject to the inspection of the Board of Directors, and every member of it; and shall also, when required, be laid before the Society. He shall further transcribe in a book, the constitution and by-laws of the Society already adopted, and such

by-laws as may hereafter be adopted; and shall keep minutes of all the proceedings and transactions of the Society and the Board of Directors; and shall keep a list of the names of all the members, with their places of residence. On the admission of new members, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to give them notice thereof in writing. When special meetings of the Society shall be called, it shall be his duty to give written notices thereof to the members, at least thirty days previous to such meetings. His expense for stationery shall be paid out of the funds of the Society. At the expiration of his official term, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to deliver all such files and records as are herein before specified, and all other papers and documents which shall have come to his hands by virtue of his official capacity, to the President, subject to the order of the Board of Directors.

SECTION IV.

Every person of whatsoever age, hereafter to be admitted a member of the Society, shall, at the time of his admission, sign the constitution, and pay the sum of Fifty Dollars; which payment shall constitute such person a member for life.

SECTION V.

Every person to be admitted a member of the Society after the first day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five, shall, at the time of his admision, pay the additional sum of One Dollar for each and every year he shall have attained over and above the age of fifty; and so much of any by-law as is hereby altered, shall, from the said first day of July, be repealed.

[Enacted July 1st, 1824.]

SECTION VI.

The Directors, Treasurer, Secretary and Auditors shall be elected by ballot, and the name of each candidate shall be written on the same ticket, designating the offices intended; and the person having the greatest number of votes for any office, shall be declared to be elected.

SECTION VII.

The officers thus elected shall serve from the time of one stated meeting to the next, and until others shall be appointed in their place.

SECTION VIII.

The President, or Chairman *pro tempore*, shall authorize special meetings of the Society to be called, whenever he is requested by the Board of Directors, or receives a written communication stating clearly the subject to be brought before the Society, signed by at least five members, which said special meetings may be continued by adjournment.

SECTION IX.

The Board of Directors shall superintend the general concerns of the Society, and carry into effectual operation all those provisions of the constitution and by-laws, the execution of which have not been specially delegated to others. Any five of the members of the Board shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business. They shall be authorized to make rules for their own immediate regulation; keep regular minutes of their proceedings; and shall lay those minutes before the Society, when called for. All accounts or demands against the Society shall be presented to this Board for inspection, and, when approved, the presiding officer shall be authorized to draw upon the Treasurer for payment. This Board

shall likewise have the power to appoint such officers under them, as shall be necessary for executing the business of the Society, and to allow them such compensation for their services respectively, as shall by them be deemed reasonable. But no member of the Board of Directors shall be entitled to any emolument, unless the same shall have been allowed by the members of the Society at a stated meeting.

SECTION X.

The capital stock of the Society shall, from time to time, be loaned on interest, to persons giving satisfactory security on real property, or be invested in public stock of the United States, or of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, or in stock of any such incorporated bank or banks, as the Board of Directors may approve; and all securities so given, and all certificates of such stock, shall be taken in the name of the Society, and shall be made payable to the same; and all securities and certificates so taken shall be lodged in the hands of the Treasurer, who shall hold and dispose of the same, according to the provisions contained in the constitution and by-laws of this Society.

SECTION XI.

The seal of the Society shall be affixed by the Secretary to all certificates of membership, and to such other papers and documents as shall be ordered by the Society or Board of Directors.

SECTION XII.

The votes of two-thirds of the voting members present at any meeting of the Society, or a majority of the votes of the Board of Directors, shall be necessary to the admission of a new member.

SECTION XIII.

Any member may be expelled from the meetings of the Society, for disorderly and improper conduct in the presence of the Society.

SECTION XIV.

Eleven voting members shall constitute a quorum to transact the ordinary business of the Society.

SECTION XV.

The act of incorporation of this Society, together with the by-laws, shall be printed, and one copy thereof shall be delivered to each member on his signing the constitution.

SECTION XVI.

The Board of Directors shall, twice a year, on the Fridays immediately preceding the first Thursdays in the months of January and July in every year, declare a dividend of so much of the interest and dividends arising on the capital stock of the Society, as shall remain in the hands of the Treasurer, after having deducted all contingent expenses of the Society; and the said dividend shall be payable by the Treasurer to the widows of deceased members, or their attorneys duly constituted, share and share alike, during their widowhood, within five days after such declaration. But no widow shall receive the said dividend, before a certificate of the decease of her late husband, attested by a Minister of the Church of the United Brethren, shall previously have been laid before the Board of Directors. The right to a dividend shall not be assignable.

SECTION XVII.

Any dividend or dividends, remaining to the credit of the widow on the books of the Society at her death, shall be payable by the Treasurer to the executors, administrators or legal representatives of such widow, if applied for within one hundred and twenty days from the time of her decease; but if not applied for within that time, the same shall be considered as sunk for the benefit of the Society. But no claim for a dividend shall be allowed in case of the death of a widow on the dividend day. The death of a member, however, happening on a dividend day, even at the latest hour thereof, shall entitle his widow to an equal share of the dividend declared on such day. If inconvenient to procure the attestation of a Minister of the Church of the United Brethren to the certificate of the decease of a member, as herein before required by SECTION XVI, any other proof of the fact, satisfactory to the Board of Directors, shall be admitted. So much of any by-law as is hereby altered shall be repealed.

[Enacted July 5th, 1832.]

SECTION XVIII.

If at any time the members of the Society should be so much reduced in number, as to make it impracticable to constitute a Board of Directors as prescribed by the fifth article of the constitution, the number of officers shall be reduced in proportion; and if at any time all and every the members of the Society should become extinct, the widows of the deceased members, as long as there be three or more of them living, shall, annually, on the first Thursday in the month of July, appoint no less than three Trustees, who shall have the same powers, and perform the same duties, as are vested in and enjoined on the aforesaid Board of Directors by the constitution and by-laws, and shall serve for and during the term of twelve months, and until others are appointed in their place. And the said Trustees last appointed, the survivors or survivor of them, are hereby authorized to execute the provisions of the tenth article of the constitution, whenever the circumstances therein contemplated shall take place.

A VISIT

TO

BETHLEHEM AND LITITZ IN 1777.

In *Scribner's Magazine* for January, 1880, there is an entertaining paper, by Col. T. W. Higginson, entitled "A Revolutionary Congressman on Horseback." The article is based upon the diary kept by the Hon. William Ellery of his journey on horseback from Dighton, Masschusetts, to York, or as it was then called, Yorktown, Pennsylvania, a distance of nearly five hundred miles. The Congress, "which then sat continuously, had been driven from Philadelphia by the approach of the British; and it was now at York, where it remained until the following year." Mr. Higginson introduces the travelers, for Mr. Ellery was accompanied by his son-in-law, as follows:

"William Ellery was now a man of nearly fifty years of age, having been born December 22, 1727. He had been chosen to Congress in May, 1776; had signed the great Declaration; and had, as he records, stood long by the secretary to watch the bearing of his fellow-signers. In return for his patriotic service, the British troops had hastened to burn his house at Newport, on their taking possession of Rhode Island, so that his family were now residing at Dighton, Massachusetts. It was from this village, therefore, that he and his son-in-law—the Honorable Francis Dana of Massachusetts—were to ride together to the Congress, of which both were members. Mr. Dana was the father, ten years later, of Richard Henry Dana, the poet, lately deceased, whose long career thus nearly linked the present moment with that autumnal morning when his father and grandfather mounted their horses for their journey.

"It was an important time in the history of the Revolution. The first flying rumors of Burgoyne's surrender were arriving; but an

interest more absorbing must have been attached, in Mr. Ellery's mind, to an expedition just organized by General Spencer to drive the British from Rhode Island. The attempt was carried so far that the Continental troops were actually embarked in boats at Tiverton, when news came that the British were already warned, and the surprise had failed. The expedition was at once abandoned, much to the dissatisfaction of Congress; but all this was not foreseen by Mr. Ellery, who, as we shall see, was anxiously listening for the sound of cannon, and hoping for a military triumph that should almost eclipse that already won over Burgoyne.

"We can fancy the two worthy gentlemen, booted and spurred, wearing the full-skirted coat, the long waistcoat, and the small-clothes of the period, and bestriding their stout horses, after due inspection of girths and saddle-bags. With Mr. Dana's man-servant riding soberly behind them, they 'sat out,' as the diary always phrases it, on their month's journey. They were to meet the accustomed perils by field and flood; to be detained for days by storms, to test severely the larders of their hosts; to be sometimes driven from their beds by cold and wet, or from the very house through exhaustion of fire-wood—all this in time of war, moreover, near the hostile lines, and in the occasional society of stragglers from either army. Such traveling was a good school for courage, endurance and patience; it brought public men into singularly close contact with their constituents; and afforded, on the whole, a manly and invigorating experience, though one that was often comfortless to the last degree. It moreover gave perpetual opening for unexpected acquaintance and odd adventure—opportunities never wasted upon a born humorist like William Ellery. He journeyed, we may be sure, with his eyes wide open; and by no means sheltered himself behind the immunities, if such there were, of a Congressman and a 'signer.' Indeed, he says of himself, when he had on one occasion to seek some special privilege of travel:

"Had I announced myself a member of Congress. who would have believed me?—for, setting aside my spectacles, there is, I am sure, no dignity in my person or appearance."

"This modest self-depreciation is by no means justified by Mr. Ellery's portrait; but it at least enhances the symbolic value of his spectacles, and the appropriateness of their preservation among the relics now to be seen at Independence Hall, Philadelphia."

Making good use of their eyes, the two Congressman "sat out from Dighton in Mass. Bay" on October 20th, 1777, and passed through Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey—as Mr. Ellery records in his diary. The route to Yorktown was by way of Easton and Bethlehem, and Mr. Higginson reproduces the entries which give a glimpse "of the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania—a haven of luxurious comfort to the unfortunate travelers of those days:"

> "*Nov.* 10*th.*—Breakfasted at Carr's, and rode 12 miles to Easton, where we baited. We passed the Delaware with Genl Fermoy without making ourselves known to him. From Easton we rode in the Rain to Bethlehem for the sake of good accommodation, and were invited by Mr. Edwine one of the Ministers of the Moravian Society[1] who had been so kind as to show me the public buildings when I was at Bethlehem the last June. When Congress were here in their way to York; they ordered that the House of the single women should not be occupied by the Soldiery or in any way put to the use of the Army; and that as little disturbance as possible should be given to this peaceful Society, which Mr. Edwine took notice of with great gratitude.—A number of sick and wounded were here,[2] a considerable quantity of baggage and Guards;—and a number of Light-horse were at Nazareth, feeding on the hay and grain of the Society, which I found was disagreeable; but at the same time perceived that they did not choose to complain much lest their complaints should be thought to proceed not so much from their sufferings as from a dislike to the American Cause. This people, like the Quakers are principled against bearing Arms; but are unlike them in this respect, they are not against paying such taxes as Government may order them to pay towards carrying on War, and do not I believe, in a sly underhand way aid and assist the Enemy while they cry Peace, Peace, as the manner of some Quakers is, not to impeach the whole body of them."
>
> *Nov.* 11*th.*—Continued at Bethlehem, the weather being very cold and the wind high, and our horses wanting rest, and to have their shoes repaired. Fared exceedingly well, drank excellent

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[1] [The Rev. John Ettwein.]

[2] "One of these invalids was Lafayette, who was wounded at the battle of Brandywine, Sept. 11, and was taken to Bethlehem in the carriage of Henry Laurens on the removal of Congress. Pulaski afterward visited Lafayette at Bethlehem, and was subsequently presented with a banner by the Moravian sisterhood—an incident well known through an early poem by Longfellow."*

* [Mr. Higginson helps to perpetuate Mr. Longfellow's error with regard to Pulaski's banner. The facts in the case are these: Many of the Moravian Sisters were skillful needle women; Pulaski, through the authorities, requested them to make him a banner; and when it was completed, he paid for it. It was a purely commercial transaction. Furthermore, the Moravian Sisters were not nuns, and the banner was never consecrated. The disappearance of the romance, together with the incense, however, does not detract from the beauty of the poem, considered as an ideal production.]

Madeira, and fine green tea, and ate a variety of well-cooked food of a good quality and lodged well.

Nov. 12*th.*—Baited at Snell's 9 miles, and ate a tolerable veal cutlet. Snell is a good Whig."

From Bethlehem the travelers passed on to Reading, and found their journey fast drawing to a close:

"*Nov.* 14*th.*—Crossed the Schuylkill dined at Miller's near the town of Ephrata *al. dic.* [*allii dicunt*=*alias*] Dunkard's Town and lodged at Letidz[1] a little Moravian Settlement, where we lodged in Clover.

"We lodged in Cabins[2] about 3 feet wide, a straw bed was at the bottom, a feather bed on that, sheets, a thin soft feather bed supplied the place of blankets, and a neat calico coverlid covered all; and our lodging room was kept warm during the night by a neat earthen stove which in form resembled a case of Drawers.

"*Nov.* 15*th.*—Crossed Anderson's Ferry which is 17 miles from Letidz about noon, and in the afternoon reached Yorktown which is 10 miles from the Ferry, and so finished our Journey of four hundred and fifty miles."

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[1] [This peculiar spelling of the word Lititz adds evidence against the common form, Litiz—a form which is now passing into the realm of discarded errors.]

[2] [Were not these "cabins" old-fashioned German "box-beds"?]

THE ORDER OF SERVICE

AT THE

Dedication of the Monument

ERECTED BY THE

Moravian Historical Society

TO MARK THE SITE OF THE

INDIAN MISSION STATION

MENIOLAGOMEKA

IN

MONROE COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA,

October 22, 1901.

Te Deum Laudamus.

We praise Thee, O God; we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord.
All the earth doth worship Thee, the Father everlasting.

To Thee all angels cry aloud; the heavens, and all the powers therein.
To Thee cherubim and seraphim continually do cry.

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth;
Heaven and earth are full of the majesty of Thy glory.

The glorious company of the apostles praise Thee.
The goodly fellowship of the prophets praise Thee.

The noble army of martyrs praise Thee.
The holy church throughout all the world doth acknowledge Thee; the Father of an infinite majesty;

Thine adorable, true, and only Son; also the Holy Ghost, the Comforter.
Thou art the King of glory, O Christ; Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.

When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst humble Thyself to be born of a Virgin.
When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers.

Thou sittest at the right hand of God, in the glory of the Father.
We believe that Thou shalt come to be our Judge.

We therefore pray Thee, help Thy servants, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood;
Make them to be numbered with Thy saints, in glory everlasting.

O Lord, save Thy people, and bless Thine heritage: govern them and lift them up forever.
Day by day we magnify Thee; and we worship Thy name ever, world without end.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.
O Lord, have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us.

O Lord, let Thy mercy lighten upon us: as our trust is in Thee.
O Lord, in Thee have I trusted; let me never be confounded.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost;
As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end: Amen.

Tune 205, A.

From the vast and veiled throng,
  Round the Father's heavenly throne,
Swells the everlasting song:
  Glory be to God alone!
Round Immanuel's cross of pain
  Mortal men, in tribes unknown,
Sing to Him who once was slain:
  Glory be to God alone!

Blend, ye raptured songs, in one,
  Men redeemed, your Father own;
Angels, worship ye the Son:
  Glory be to God alone!
Spirit, 'tis within Thy light,
  Streaming far from cross and throne,
Earth and heaven their songs unite:
  Glory be to God alone!

PSALM 46.

God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.

Therefore will not we fear, though the earth be removed, and though the mountains be carried into the midst of the sea.

Though the waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the mountains shake with the swelling thereof. Selah.

There is a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High.

God is in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her and that right early.

The heathen raged, the kingdoms were moved: He uttered His voice, the earth melted.

The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. Selah.

Come, behold the works of the Lord, what desolations He hath made in the earth.

He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; He breaketh the bow, and cutteth the spear in sunder; He burneth the chariot in the fire.

Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.

The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. Selah.

Tune 582, C.

For all Thy saints, O Lord,
  Who strove in Thee to live,
Who followed Thee, obeyed, adored,
  Our grateful hymn receive.

For all Thy saints, O Lord,
  Accept our thankful cry,
Who counted Thee their great reward,
  And strove in Thee to die.

They all, in life or death,
  With Thee, their Lord, in view,
Learned from the Holy Spirit's breath
  To suffer and to do.

For this, Thy name we bless;
  And humbly pray, that we
May follow them in holiness,
  And live and die in Thee.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

Bishop J. M. Levering,

President of the Society.

Tune 14, F.

Glory to God, whose witness-train,
  Those heroes bold in faith,
Could smile on poverty and pain,
  And triumph even in death.

Scorned and reviled as was their Head,
  When walking here below,
Thus, in this evil world, they led
  A life of pain and woe.

Oh! may that faith our hearts sustain,
  Wherein they fearless stood,
When in the power of cruel men,
  They poured their willing blood.

God whom we serve, our God can save,
  Can damp the scorching flame,
Can build an ark, or smoothe a wave,
  For such as fear His name.

Lord! if Thine arm support us still,
  With its eternal strength,
We shall o'ercome the mightiest ill,
  And conquerors prove at length.

ADDRESS.

The Rev. C. A. Haehnle.

PRAYER.

Lord God, our Father, who art in heaven,

Hallowed be Thy name; Thy kingdom come; Thy will be done, in earth as it is in heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.

For Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Lord God, Son, Thou Saviour of the world,

Be gracious unto us.

Lord God, Holy Ghost,

Abide with us for ever.

Unto the Lamb that was slain,

And hath redeemed us out of all nations of the earth;

Unto the Lord who purchased our souls for Himself;

Unto that Friend who loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood;

Who died for us once,

That we might die unto sin;

Who rose for us,

That we also might rise;

Who ascended for us into heaven,

To prepare a place for us;

And to whom are subjected the angels, and powers, and dominions: to Him be glory at all times,

In the church that waiteth for Him, and in that which is around Him,

From everlasting to everlasting:

Amen.

Tune 159, D.

Sing hallelujah, praise the Lord,
  Sing with a cheerful voice;
Exalt our God with one accord,
  And in His name rejoice:
Ne'er cease to sing, thou ransomed host,
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;
Until in realms of endless light
Your praises shall unite.

There we to all eternity
  Shall join the angelic lays,
And sing in perfect harmony
  To God our Saviour's praise;
He hath redeemed us by His blood,
And made us kings and priests to God;
For us, for us, the Lamb was slain:
Praise ye the Lord! Amen.

BENEDICTION.

MENIOLÁGOMÉKA.

ANNALS

OF A

MORAVIAN INDIAN VILLAGE

AN HUNDRED AND THIRTY YEARS AGO.

BY J. MAX HARK.

Vol. 3 Part 3

Meniolágoméka.[1]

Himself a part of Nature, the Indian has always lived in intimate, even though unconscious, sympathy with her higher forms and manifestations of beauty, harmony and sublimity. As the feathery fern loves to grow by the mossy rock, in the shady dell, or by the bubbling spring; as the dark-green hemlock, with drooping boughs, and spear-like peaked head, seeks the frowning precipice, or crowns the rocky cliff; so the tawny Indian ever chose to live where his presence would complete the picturesqueness of the landscape, the perfect symmetry of Nature's beauteous whole. Thus we find him, in the beginning and middle of the last century, peopling the mountain-shadowed valleys, the sloping hillsides, and the flowery meadow banks of all that great hunting ground north of the Kittochtinny range, or Blue Mountains, of this State. This range formed the great boundary line between him and the white man's lands. By government treaty, as well as by natural law, this was his country, all his own. And here our Brethren first visited him, not as intruders or usurpers, but as messengers of the Most High, bearing the glad news of salvation to all, both red and white.

On his first journey, of inspection rather than evangelization, in July of 1742, Count Zinzendorf with a little company of devoted

[1] Read at the Annual Meeting of the Moravian Historical Society, September 15th, 1880.

"This village [Meniolágoméka] lay in 'Smith's Valley,' eight miles west of the Wind Gap, on the north bank of the Aquanshicola, at the intersection of the old Wilkesbarre Road, which crossed the mountain at Smith's Gap—in Eldred Township, Monroe County. The graveyard was one-eighth of a mile south of Mr. Edw. Snyder's lime quarries"—(*Memorials of the Moravian Church.*)

men and women crossed into this country at Tat's Gap, about two miles west of where the Delaware breaks through the "Endless Hills." On their homeward journey they struck the beautiful though narrow valley of the Aquanshicola, west of the Wind Gap. After their hot, fatiguing ride over rough and rugged hills, the comparatively level trail, through cooling hemlock groves, and clean, refreshing ash and maple shades, may well have beguiled them to follow its course westward, as it gently wound along the northern base of the mountain wall. About eight miles west of the Wind Gap they suddenly came upon a little cluster of Delaware lodges, nestling against the sloping side of the first of those countless hills that rise behind and above one another northward for many miles. They halted, and no doubt partook of the tribe's hospitality, meeting for the first time the Indians of Meniolágoméka, nearly all of whom, later, were gathered into the fold of the Great Shepherd, and some of whom became shining lights in the future history of the Brethren's Indian Missions.

The "Disciple" (Zinzendorf) and his company could make but a brief stay here however. Constrained by a divine impulse, he changed his plan, which had been to return directly to Bethlehem; and, with three companions, John Wm. Zander, Jacob Lischy, and an Indian guide, followed the course of the Aquanshicola westward, crossed the Lehigh Gap, and continued in a south-westerly direction until he came to Heidelberg, where he met the representatives of the great Iroquois Confederacy, and concluded with them that covenant of friendship and fraternity that opened the whole Indian country to the Brethren. The other members of his company, Anton Seyffert, Andrew Eschenbach, Henry Müller, Zinzendorf's eldest daughter, Benigna, and Zander's bride, Johanna, with her younger brother, Peter Müller, departed by the nearest route to Bethlehem; which they reached on the evening of the same day.

Brief as this first visit of the Brethren to this village was, it seems to have been long enough to let their love for the "brown hearts" shine forth and burn into their souls, a gracious reflection of the saving rays of the Light of the world. For, from this time date the visits of these Indians to Nazareth, and Bethlehem, and afterwards Gnadenhütten, which, frequently returned by the Brethren, resulted in the establishment here in 1749 of a congre-

gation of Christian Indians. Zinzendorf himself seems never to have visited again this "Fat-Land-in-the-midst-of-Barrens," as the Indian name represents it to have been. But we know that Anton Seyffert did so repeatedly before his return to Europe in 1745; once in October 1743; again in January of the next year; and once more in June of the same year. Indeed those rude little huts of skin and bark were often graced with the presence of saints and heroes whom we shall count it an honor, and blissful, once to meet in the glorious mansions of the New Jerusalem. The devoted David Nitschmann's feet have trodden those hills. Faithful Nathanael Seidel's voice often echoed through those dells, singing sweet songs of the Lamb. Those ancient trees once hushed their whispering converse to hear the words of wisdom and truth that fell from the lips of the scholarly Böhler and the ardent Cammerhof. John Hagen was there to show forth the Saviour's love; and Henry Antes bore testimony to the same. Through the deep snows and wintry blasts Christian Henry Rauch forced his way to claim the souls of that little band for his crucified Master. And the tender-spirited Brother Johannes de Watteville passed through the place, drawing hearts to himself wherever he went, as the magnet draws steel.

But although each spot where these saintly men trod was thus hallowed forever, the fruits of their labors were slow in ripening. It was not until 1748 that they appeared; but then in a remarkable manner. A celebrated warrior of the tribe, whose massive form and gigantic strength had made him a terror to his foes, but whose dissipated life at home, and bloodthirsty fierceness in many a drunken brawl, had gained him a disgraceful notoriety even more widespread than his warlike fame, came with tears of penitence to the missionary at Gnadenhütten, begging to be baptized. Long the Brethren hesitated, almost doubting the possibility of so great a change in his heart. But at length they yielded to his earnest pleading, and he became a member of the little congregation on the Mahony, receiving in baptism the name of Christian Renatus. His subsequent life proved his sincerity; though it never ceased to be a wonder to all who had known him. Both white men and former companions among the Indians came from afar purposely to convince themselves of the reality of this miracle of grace. Nor did he ever tire of telling them what the Saviour had done for him,

the chief of sinners. His conversion made a deep impression for good on his tribe, and encouraged the missionaries to renewed zeal in behalf of the rest of his people at Meniolágoméka.

The Lord waited until the next year, however, before He manifested Himself with a general awakening power. The chief of the village, a young man of noble family and nobler nature, known among the whites by the name of George Rex, had for some time shown a special interest in the Gospel. It was at his urgent invitation that the visits of the Brethren to the little village on the Aquanshicola had become more and more frequent; while he himself came again and again to Gnadenhütten and to Bethlehem to hear the words of life. Finally he gave himself wholly to the Lord, and with his wife was baptized at Bethlehem, in 1749. A short time after, his hundred-year-old grandfather followed his example, shortly before his death; and, in the course of the same year and the next, nearly his entire tribe was converted, and joined the company of true believers. But of them all, none proved themselves more steadfast and consistent than their honored young chieftain and his gentle wife, thenceforward known as Brother Augustus and Sister Esther. She died at Gnadenhütten in 1754. He, after the removal to the Mahony, and thence, after the massacre, to Bethlehem, was for three years the trusted Elder of the Indian congregation at the latter place. During this time, in April 1756, he was appointed by Bishop Spangenberg to represent the Christian Indians on the embassy sent by the Governor of Pennsylvania, with peaceful overtures to the hostile Delawares and Shawanese. Though afterwards tempted by Teedyuscung for a time to forsake the Brethren, he soon returned, an humble penitent, and, in the year 1762, fell peacefully asleep in their midst, in the full assurance of pardon and salvation. At Meniolágoméka he labored faithfully and with untiring zeal, as the missionaries' assistant, for the spiritual welfare and growth in grace of his tribe.

Soon after his conversion the village was constituted and ordered as a regular mission station, and ministered unto as a filial of Gnadenhütten, by visiting Brethren from the latter place. On festal days, and for the celebration of the Holy Communion, the congregation regularly repaired thither, where indeed a special lodge was built and set apart for their shelter and entertainment on the occasions.

In the meantime, however, the white settlers, who everywhere

were the most inveterate and unscrupulous enemies of our Indian missions, were not idle at Meniolágoméka. With gross temptations, and cunning lies about the missionaries, they did their utmost to turn the hearts of the converts, undermine their confidence in the Brethren, and win them back to their former sinful ways, so profitable to the traders' wicked greed. Several unconverted Indians yet in the village, too, were a source of constant trouble and anxiety. But the good judgment and Christian firmness of Augustus were equal to every trial, and kept his band of fellowers true to their vows. By the conversion of the notorious "Big Jacob," the Lord removed the chief enemy of the Brethren and the Gospel in the village itself. This Indian had been an ardent hater of the Christian religion and its ministers, and had systematically labored against them with all his influence and cunning. But a severe illness brought him to a sense of his wickedness. He became deeply penitent; and almost distracted came to Bishop Cammerhof for advice and assistance. He was lovingly treated, and affectionately pointed to the one thing needful. His very demeanor became changed, from that of a fierce and sinister savage to that of a broken and contrite sinner. And true to His promise the Lord did not despise him, but gave him an interest in His saving blood. He was baptized, as Brother Paul, by Cammerhof in 1750, and till his death remained true to the Master and active in His cause.

Repeated solicitations from Augustus and his subjects at length moved the Brethren to station a permanent minister at Meniolágoméka. Bernhard Adam Grubè, whose portrait, by the artistic hand of a living relative, graces these walls even now, was the man appointed to occupy this lonely outpost in the wilderness. In January of 1752, in the depth of winter, he arrived in the midst of the little company, whose warm and hearty welcome, so childlike and sincere, went straight to his heart, and for a time made him forget the bleak storm and icy cold that reigned without.

Although Grubè had had some slight experience of Indian mission work at Pachgatgoch, his new station must have seemed strange to him, as it was one of peculiar trials and severest hardships. Educated at Jena, and accustomed to the schoolmaster's desk in the midst of white brethren and friends at Bethlehem, we do not wonder that peculiar sensations filled him now, as he moved into the little hut prepared for him. We sympathize with him

when he näively tells us how his awkwardness in handling the axe, not long after his arrival, came near crippling him for life, and as it was, confined him for weeks to his rude and cold little lodge, stretched upon a rough board as his only couch, with nothing but a wooden bowl to serve for a pillow. But no ailment of the flesh could daunt his resolute spirit. While thus confined, he beguiled the long and lonesome wintry days by diligently studying the Delaware language; and daily had his little charge gather round his couch, to keep them service there.

It is true his Indians did all they could to lighten his hard lot. But they themselves, during this winter and spring, had to struggle desperately with poverty and want, and for a time could scarcely keep starvation from their doors. It was Augustus more especially who kept him supplied with the necessaries of life; as indeed he did many others of his tribe. For Augustus was a noted hunter, and on many an expedition brought home more venison alone than all his companions together. And his heart was ever open to the less fortunate or skilled, and never refused to share with them the spoils of the chase.

Early in spring the hardy missionary, now fully recovered from his accident, by his example urged the Indians on to clear their land, build fences, hoe and dig the ground, and plant it with beans, corn and other vegetables. But not even this was without its hardships and difficulties. There was a great scarcity of needed seeds. To supply this several of the Indian brethren had to hire themselves out to white settlers, often miles away, and thus earned a little money. The sisters went to Nazareth, Christiansbrunn, Bethlehem and Broadheadville, and sold the brooms, baskets and mats they had made during the winter. Spiteful neighbors, too, harrassed them and sorely tried their patience. One time in May, for example, they found that one of these had set fire to the woods around their fields, and burned up nearly all their fences. With true Christian forbearance they said nothing, but simply set to work and built new ones. Then, later in the season, a great part of their young crop of corn was destroyed by the multitudinous ground-squirrels.

Besides these outward troubles, Grubè had his full need of anxiety and concern in the management of the inner life of his congregation. However docile they were, and sincere in their faith and

love, they were but spiritual babes and very beginners in the Christian walk and life, while in the flesh they were full-grown men and women, of like passions with other men. Temptations from without and within were many and strong. Wild savages made frequent visits into their midst, and more than once broke up the peace of the village to such an extent that the regular religious services could not be held. Quarrels would arise amongst the converts, once even between a brother and his wife. Slothfulness was a besetting sin. Little jealousies and bitter feelings must be looked after and removed.

Yet with all this, the inner course of the congregation in the main was encouraging and hopeful to the devoted missionary, and his activity remained unabated. Daily he visited them in their huts, advising, admonishing and exhorting them with tender solicitude. Every evening a service was held for all, in which sweet hymns were sung in the German and the Delaware languages, with all that heartiness and fervor for which the Indians' singing was so remarkable. A simple, straightforward discourse was also delivered, usually on the words of the Daily Text. This was translated, sentence for sentence, by Brother Augustus, or in his absence by some other brother. The punctual attendance of the Indians at these daily services is gratefully commended by Grubè. On more than one occasion, during his temporary absence at Bethlehem or Gnadenhütten, Brother Augustus himself conducted the meetings, to the evident edification and blessing of all.

According to the general custom of the Brethren's Church at that period of their history, Saturday was strictly observed as the Sabbath day of rest, preparatory for the more joyous celebration of the succeeding Lord's Day. No work was then engaged in. Journeys were avoided. Hunting was forbidden. Peace and quiet reigned in all the huts from morn to night, sweetened, perhaps, by here a voice heard in some hut in humble, fervent prayer; or there a touching hymn wafted to the throne above from the blended hearts and voices of a family singing together round the blazing hearth-fire.

As a rule, all the converts at Meniolágoméka repaired once a month to Gnadenhütten, to prepare for and enjoy the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper. On such occasions they would leave home early on Friday morning. On their arrival, then, and all

through the Sabbath, Brother Martin Mack and his wife Anna would speak with each of the brethren and sisters separately, in solemn preparation for the morrow's great event. On Monday they

> " . . . return each to his tent,
> Joyful and glad of heart."

These seasons always gave a fresh impetus to the work at home, and were indeed green spots in the memory, especially of the lonely missionary.

Yet there were other occasions, too, to relieve the routine of suffering and hard work at Meniolágoméka; incidents that to us might seem but trivial, but to them were great events. The birthdays of dear brethren were to be celebrated, if privately yet no less joyously, and with festivity in the heart. So Zinzendorf's fifty-second birthday was observed, though in a somewhat novel manner, on the 26th of May. The "Missions-haus," where the meetings were held, and which also was the residence of the minister, had for some time been but a sorry shelter for him from the storms of cold and rain. In fact, the services had several times to be omitted, as still oftener the sleep of poor Brother Grubè, on account of the streaming rain that poured through the roof and deluged all within. On this day, accordingly, all the Indian brethren went together to peel bark on the mountain, and returning in a few hours, set lustily to work to re-roof the lodge. With pride Brother Grubè reports how quickly and skilfully it was done, so that he could again write and sleep in the dry. It even had a window put into it! Later the hut was still further distinguished by the luxury of a wooden floor. Who will doubt that Brother Zinzendorf appreciated such a form of celebrating the anniversary of his birth, by his "brown hearts" on the Aquanshicola, far more than many another less useful though more ostentatious form of remembrance!

On the following Sunday, being Whitsuntide, the newly-roofed hut was adorned with boughs and twigs of evergreen by the grateful missionary. At once all his Indians followed his example, and carried it further, even to the special adornment of their own persons, with all the finery in their possession; a piece of vanity that, doubtless, Brother Grubè deeply deplored having so rashly occasioned! The rest of the day he devoted particularly to the children and youth. And indeed, he seems always to have had a

peculiar love for children, and to have labored among them with extraordinary blessing. Not only did he here keep special services for them from time to time; but he also commenced a school for them, with himself as teacher, which he kept faithfully every day; first an hour for the boys, then for the girls alone. Their punctuality, and eagerness to learn to read and write, gave him much pleasure and satisfaction.

Occasional visits from his white brethren also served to cheer him and to encourage the Indian converts. How welcome such visits were, can be better imagined than described. He himself tells us of his joy when, on a bright and lovely day in June, seven single brethren from Christiansbrunn arrived. It had seemed to him as though he had not seen a white face for months. What though he had but one bed for them all, and scarce provisions enough for himself alone? He had as much as they expected: a warm embrace of welcome, and a heart yearning for their love, sympathy and companionship. Nor did they want food; for Augustus speedily provided a feast for them all of juicy venison and sapan. Every member of the village came and grasped them by the hand, invited them into the various huts, and made them feel that this was a village of true brethren. Brother Grubè took them out into his fields to show them the fruits of his labor, and have them thank God with him for the promise of a plentiful crop and abundant harvest. So glad were the hearts of the good brother and his guests that sleep would scarce have visited them even though they had had a softer couch than the bare floor, where all were crowded together around the crackling fire.

But Grubè's six months' stay here was now drawing to a close. The call to leave Meniolágoméka and repair to Bethlehem came to him on his thirty-eighth birthday, June 21st. Quite unexpectedly, at noon, who should arrive but David Zeisberger, then about to go to Onondaga to commence his great work there. With the call to Grubè, he brought also the needed provisions for a love-feast in honor of the latter's birthday; but himself would not stay long enough to enjoy it with him, as he must hasten directly to Gnadenhütten. Grubè thereupon postponed the love-feast, intending to make it his farewell service on the morrow.

In the evening he announced his call to his congregation, who heard it with sad and sorrowful hearts. In the meantime Brother

Augustus had been let into the secret of the morrow's service, that he might assist in its preparation. Early the next morning, then, great slices of bread were spread with butter, and a large kettle of chocolate was set to boil over the fire, Brother Grubè himself being the sole cook. A brother and sister, Anthony and his wife Johanna, were yet in haste appointed to serve; and then, all things being ready, the horn, used to call the congregation together for service, sounded forth a long and lusty blast, that echoed and re-echoed along the mountain side and through the woody glens and dales. In as little time, almost, as it takes to tell, every soul in the village obeyed the summons. And then, decently and in order, began the first Brethren's lovefeast that had yet been held at Meniolágoméka. Each Indian received a slice of bread and butter, together with a cup of steaming chocolate. Silent and attentive they partook thereof, while their beloved minister, in tones quivering with emotion, bade them a loving, tender farewell; admonishing them to remain faithful unto the end; and finally, commending them in an ardent prayer to the gracious care of the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls, dismissed the congregation, and immediately set out across the mountain to Bethlehem. Nathanael, a faithful brother here and afterwards assistant at Gnadenhütten, was his traveling companion, though other brethren also went with him as far as the mountain top.

Hard as had been this faithful servant's lot at this place, who can doubt that sorrow and regret filled his heart now, at parting with his devoted little flock. Standing on the mountain side he looked down once more upon those huts. Perhaps it would be the last time his eyes should rest upon them. There flowed the gentle Aquanshicola in crystal ripples o'er its pebbly bed. How oft had he sat there on its mossy banks, amidst its graceful ferns and fragrant flowers, listening to the voice that spoke to him in every murmur of the waves, every whisper of the leaves o'erhead, and each bird-note wafted to him from the swaying bushes and boughs! There, scarce two hundred yards beyond, close by a fresh and gurgling spring, clustered the humble homes of those souls that had grown dear to him as was his own—not a dozen lodges, ranged equally above and below the little meeting-house where he so oft had bowed his knees in prayer, and shed such burning tears for the welfare of his flock. Standing in the center of the village,

with that of his tried Augustus on the one side and Nathanael on the other, he felt, now perhaps for the first time, that the name of home was in his heart associated strangely with these huts of bark. But he must banish such thoughts. His home is not on earth. He is but a pilgrim here, and must go, yea and go with cheerfulness and joy, where'er the Master calls.

Very soon after Grubè's removal, the Brethren sent Brother John Joseph Bull, better known by his Indian name, Schebosh, to reside and labor at Meniolágoméka. This humble and lowly man, a true hero of the faith, though not a scholar like his predecessor, was yet a chosen instrument of God for good among the Indians; and here, as in all the different fields where he served, speedily won the esteem and affection of his red brethren. He brought his wife Christiana with him, who, though herself a Delaware Indian, or perhaps because of this fact, helped him in a peculiar manner in his work, and made his pastoral labors, in visiting the Indian sisters from hut to hut, particularly efficient and blessed.

Although the "house-warming" of this devoted couple was of a rather startling character, for on one of the first nights of their sojourn here they found possession to their bed disputed by no less formidable an occupant than an immense serpent, that had crept into the hut during the evening, they nevertheless soon came to feel quite at home in the place. They had frequent visitors, too, not only from Gnadenhütten, but especially from Bethlehem, whence, among the rest, Brother and Sister Jungmann came in September; the Brethren Nathanael Seidel and Everhart in October; and on another occasion Bishop Matthew Hehl and Brother Yarrel, who treated the baptized converts to a fraternal love-feast.

In spiritual matters the congregation continued growing in grace; the meetings and school were kept regularly; and Brother Schebosh might have continued his ministrations here for many months to come, had it not been for a painful accident, on the last day of October, that disabled him for a time, and necessitated his removal to Bethlehem. It came about in this wise: the Indian Brother Samuel had all along experienced not a little trouble with his wife. Whether himself or she was most at fault, the records tell us not. At any rate, Brother Schebosh felt constrained, on the afore mentioned date, to call Samuel privately into his lodge, in order to speak seriously with him concerning the disturbed condition of his

domestic relations. Now it so happened that Augustus' hut was next adjoining unto his, and in it the mighty hunter was cleaning his rifle. Suddenly, while the two were in the midst of their most earnest conversation, Augustus' gun went off, and the whole charge was sent crashing through the walls, through the side of the "Gemein-haus," and lodged in the nether extremities of poor Brother Schebosh. Nor did Samuel escape uninjured. Brother Schebosh's wounds were very painful, and excited not a little alarm; hence messengers were at once dispatched to Gnadenhütten and to Bethlehem, with the news. Before evening already they returned, accompanied by Brother Abraham Bühninger from the former place, and Brother Otto, the physician, from the latter. He, after examining the wounded limbs, and carefully attending to them, concluded to take Brother Schebosh at once with him to Bethlehem for further treatment. And thus, after scarcely a four month's sojourn, his labors at Meniolágoméka ceased.

The following winter passed seemingly without any regular pastor being stationed at the place, until February, 1753, when Brother Abraham Bühninger was appointed. Under him the mission prospered very much, and outwardly it kept on its even course undisturbed by any unusual occurrence. Brother Bühninger was an indefatigable worker, and withal most conscientious and devout. He not only continued all the regular services, but, with the sanction of the Indians, instituted an additional one daily, early in the morning, as he was accustomed to have it at the older missions. In their daily occupations he led his flock by his example of hard-working industry, as much as in spiritual things he was their pattern of devotion, childlike faith and shining purity of life.

It is touching to read, for example, how on Easter morning in April, he repaired to their little burial ground, that lay about three hundred yards west by north of the village, and there, all alone in the sublime quiet and solitude of that boundless forest, held sweet communion with the saints in heaven, recounted the names of the dear Indian brethren whose ashes lay beneath the mounds ranged around him, and commended himself with them to that Saviour who had died and risen for all As the glorious sun rose from his nightly tomb, and sent his gracious rays piercing into the valley's gloom, gilding each tree top, and flooding field and forest with a golden deluge of morning light, the solitary wor-

shiper's voice rose above the warbling and the singing of the feathered choirs round about him, lauding in tones of exultation and triumph that vanquisher of death and the grave, through whose grace we too are heirs of life, and more than conquerors in his name. He knew that his dear wife, and all his brethren and sisters in Gnadenhütten, at Bethlehem, and in a score of other precious spots, were at that moment too uniting in the same hymns, chanting the very same tunes, and rejoicing in the same glad and praiseful thoughts. He *believed* in the communion of saints. He was not alone, but they all were with him, unseen indeed, but felt, —all in heaven and on earth that believe in the Saviour's name, a glorious host of redeemed souls and spirits immortal.

It was just one month after this blessed resurrection morn that duty called him, on a more sad and painful mission, again to this hallowed acre of God. The ten-year-old son of a heathen sister of the Indian Brother Nathanael, had "gone to kiss the Saviour's wounds," the day after his baptism by Brother Martin Mack. He had been ill for more than a month, and often earnestly begged to be baptized. At last Bühninger sent to Gnadenhütten, telling Brother Mack all the circumstances; but he had hesitated to administer the sacrament, because the boy's parents still were unconverted. Finally, however, he came; and not an hour too soon. As it was, the poor child had his longings fulfilled, and fell peacefully asleep in the full assurance of awaking in the bosom of his crucified Lord. With their own hands the Indian brethren made a little coffin, cutting it in one piece out of a massive chestnut's trunk. Love gave them taste and skill, so that Brother Bühninger quaintly informs us 'twas "so beautifully proportioned that it was a pleasure to look upon it." Then wrapping the corpse in a new blanket, which had been a cherished present to him from the Brethren at Gnadenhütten, they bore him away amidst songs of trust and hope, and laid him to rest in the cool earth. That earth made sacred by the ashes of brethren and sisters of ours; hallowed by tears wrung from the hearts of grief-stricken mothers and fathers, husbands and wives and lovers; that ground where Christian mourners have knelt and wept and prayed to their God, is it not holy ground—holy and dear to-day to every brother and sister of our Church?

Brother Bühninger has left us a record of the number of inhabitants at Meniolágoméka at this time; from which we see that

there were fifty-nine in all, of whom there were seven baptized couples and two unbaptized; besides one couple of whom the one was baptized and the other not; two baptized and three unbaptized widows, and no widower; two unbaptized single women; two single brethren from Gnadenhütten; seven baptized and five un-unbaptized boys; and five baptized and eleven unbaptized girls; making in all thirty-three baptized souls, and twenty-six yet straying without the fold.

In the month of November of 1753, from the 19th to the 28th, Brother Bühninger was called to temporarily discharge some duties at other places, and John Joseph Schmick with his wife consequently supplied his place. Evidently more of a student than a musician, this brother found himself in a difficulty quite serious to him, on the first evening after his arrival. He was unable to bring a sound from the great horn that announced the hour of worship. Try as he might, turn it this way or that, the thing remained mute and dumb. What to do he knew not. So putting the stubborn instrument away, he went forth to find an Indian brother who could instruct, or at least advise him. But by this time it was growing dark, and the evening too far spent to hold the service; and, rather discouraged with his first experience, the unfortunate brother laid himself to rest. Next day he complained of his trouble to Augustus, who told him that hereafter his son would undertake the duty of horn-blowing, and so overcome the difficulty. This was accordingly done, and Brother Schmick's labors were richly blessed by the Lord.

On Bühninger's return to his post, at the end of the month, he carried on the work with his usual vigor. It is touching to see how his Indians were attached to him; how they relied on and obeyed him, like unto little children. The winter months were but occasionally enlivened by visiting brethren; once by a visit from David Zeisberger, a few days after Christmas, who spent a day and night with the little congregation, keeping their morning and evening services, and giving them interesting accounts of the course of the Gospel among their red brethren otherwhere, and of his experience among them. Gladly would they have detained him longer; but he had to hasten away to rejoin his brethren at Christiansbrunn.

At the end of January, to the great joy of the Indian sisters,

Bühninger brought his wife to Meniolágoméka to share his labors with him. But it was only for a few days; for on the 12th of February came the call for him temporarily to relieve Brother Senseman at Pachgatgoch; which he did until the last day of the same month.

In this interval Brother Schmick again supplied his place; for the Indians had learned to love him and his faithful wife; and he had gained a specially healthful influence over the children, for he was a skilled teacher. On his former visit he had always insisted on their washing their hands and faces before coming to school; no doubt a very necessary thing. So no sooner did he appear at his place in the school again, than they all held up their clean brown hands, and showed their freshly washed faces. It seemed to please him very much, —as much as his words of kindly praise in return gratified and encouraged them.

Brother Bühninger returned from Pachgatgoch in time to give his much-needed encouragement and advice to the little band at Meniolágoméka, during those months of sore trial and anxiety that preceded the removal of the whole settlement, from its picturesque and lovely site on the Aquanshicola to Gnadenhütten, on the banks of the Mahony. Secretary Richard Peters, the owner of the land, if claiming what belongs to another can be called ownership, had at last given peremptory notice that they must remove to some other place. Already in 1750 he had told them of his intention, and caused them much solicitude. The Brethren had tried their utmost to buy the land then; but he would not sell it. He had afterwards, however, allowed his claim to rest for the time; and the poor Indians had now almost forgotten their fears, and again regarded all those hills and valleys as their own. When therefore this second and uncompromising demand came, they were almost distracted, and quite at a loss what to do. But the Lord was providing. Even then Gnadenhütten was being deserted by the misguided followers of King Teedyuscung and Abraham, who moved away to Wyoming. Their lodges stood empty and forsaken. And, hearing of the state of affairs at Meniolágoméka, the Brethren at Gnadenhütten at once sent a cordial invitation to Bühninger and his little flock to come thither and occupy the homes standing ready to receive them. Gratefully they accepted the offer, and without delay prepared to move their few possessions to this place

of refuge. Augustus, however, first stipulated with the white man's agent for some compensation for the many improvements his tribe had made on the land. It proved to be the now old, old story, however. The red man deceived, overreached and slandered. The white man enriched, empowered and praising himself for wisdom, and even magnanimity! Augustus did indeed receive the promise that he would be paid £5 for the fences that had been built, and now had to be left; but for the acres of cleared and cultivated ground, for the seed in the earth, and for the land itself, he received not even a promise. Whether the paltry £5 ever were paid, seems at this late day yet uncertain.

With heavy hearts and clouded brows, we see this little handful of Delaware brethren and sisters leaving their ancient and beautiful home, on the 4th and 5th of May, 1755, and wending their way along the narrow valley that led to Gnadenhütten. Who shall record the feelings that moved their breasts, as last their tear-dimmed gaze rested on the empty huts they just had left? Those giant trees, that seemed their intimate friends and companions, would soon be murdered by the white man's cruel axe. That laughing, limpid stream, free as themselves, soon must slavishly turn the wheel of the white man's mills. Naked and bare would ere long become those everlasting hills, now crowned and girdled with mighty oaks, with aromatic hemlock and pine. That gurgling spring would run dry; and the blooming flowers, and graceful, nodding ferns would ruthlessly be buried 'neath the plowman's clod. And oh, that sacred spot there on the hill, where lay the bones of dear and loved ones in the Lord, would they be spared? Or would the hallowed mounds be levelled with the ground, and be hoed and planted like the common earth, and e'en the names forgotten of those so dear to their hearts, e'en the site be remembered no more, where with tears and sorrowing souls they but lately had laid them to rest? Would we have blamed them much had desperation made them wild and savage once more as such thoughts came crowding through their brains? But no; the Comforter was there. "My grace is sufficient for thee!" whispered His strong voice to the little band. "Thy will be done, O God!" their hearts reply, as lifting their eyes from their earthly homes upward to that better one above, they turn away forever from that spot, and Meniolágoméka is no more.

SOME OF THE FATHERS

OF THE

AMERICAN MORAVIAN CHURCH.

A SERIES OF BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES,

BY

EDMUND DE SCHWEINITZ, S.T.D.,
Episcopus Fratrum.

PREFATORY NOTE.

The substance of the following ten biographical articles appeared in *The Moravian*, in the years 1861, 1872 and 1873. They have been revised with great care. Some of them have been entirely remodeled. They are based upon the following sources:

1. *David Nitschmann*, Rothenburg, 1842. A Sketch accompanying his portrait, by Theophilus Reichel, and consisting mainly of an autobiography.

2. *Lebenslauf des ersten Bischofs der Erneuerten Brüder Kirche, David Nitschmann.* Gemein Nachrichten, 1832, p. 394, etc.

3. *Nachricht von dem Anfange der bischöflichen Ordination in der Erneuerten Evangelischen B. K., von Friedrich Ludwig Koelbing.* Gnadau, 1835.

4. *Ein kurzgefasstes Promemoria von den merkwürdigsten Lebens Umständen unsers lieben Alt-Vaters und venerablen Seniors David Nitschmann.* MS. Bethlehem Archives.

5. *A brief Biography, in German, without title, of Frederick Cammerhoff, in the Diary of Bethlehem, April,* 1751. MS. Bethlehem Archives.

6. *Reise Diarium nach Onondaga, von Cammerhoff.* MS. Bethlehem Archives.

7. *Etwas von unserm lieben in dem Herrn selig entschlafenen Bruders Johannes von Watteville. Aufgesetzt von Bruder Joseph.* (Spangenberg) MS. Bethlehem Archives.

8. *Lebenslauf des Bruders Johannes von Watteville, Bischofs der B. K.* Gemein Nachrichten, 1852, p. 790, etc.

9. *Leben des Freyherrn Johannes von Watteville, von Dr. Johann Friedrich Wilhelm Ritter.* Altona, 1800.

10. *Autobiography of Peter Boehler, MS. in his own handwriting, and thirty original letters to his son.* Property of the Rev. L. F. Kampmann.

11. *Petrus Böhler.* Rothenburg, 1842. A Sketch accompanying his portrait, by Theophilus Reichel.

12. *Personalia unsers lieben Ehrwürdigen Bruders Nathaniel Seidel.* MS. Bethlehem Archives.

13. *Personalien des seligen Bruders Franz Christian Lembke.* MS. Bethlehem Archives.

14. *Lebenslauf des Bruders Johann Martin Mack, Bischofs der B. K., und vieljährigen Missionars unter den Indianern in N. A., und unter den Negern in Dänisch W. I.* Gemein Nachrichten, 1857, p. 767, etc.

15. *Personalien des Pilgrims Johannes Ettwein.* MS. Bethlehem Archives.

16. *Lebenslauf unsers am 2. Januar,* 1802, *allhier in Bethlehem selig verschiedenen geliebten Bruders Johannes Ettwein, Bischofs der B. K.* MS. Bethlehem Archives.

17. *Etwas von den Personalien unsers lieben Bruders Matthaeus Gottfried Hehl, theils so viel er selber davon zu Papier gebracht, theils in die Feder dictirt hat.* MS. Bethlehem Archives.

18. *Lebenslauf dreyer merkwürdiger Diener der Gemeine und Bischöfe der B. K., nämlich, des Br. Hehl, des Br. Clemens, und des Br. Layriz.* MS. Bethlehem Archives. The substance printed in *Gemein Nachrichten,* 1849, p. 535, etc.

19. *The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley, A. M.* 2 Vols. New York, Carleton & Porter. n. d.

20. *Stevens' History of Methodism.* 2 Vols. New York, Carleton & Porter. n. d.

SECTION I.

DAVID NITSCHMANN.

FIRST BISHOP OF THE RENEWED BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, one of the most upright inhabitants of Zauchtenthal, in Moravia, was George Nitschmann. He endeavored to worship God in spirit and in truth, although the land of his fathers lay shackled in the fetters of Romish oppression. Every Sunday he gathered his family around him, sang the hymns of the Ancient Brethren, and read a sermon from one of the Protestant books of devotion which he possessed.

In this home, and surrounded by such influences, David Nitschmann, the First Bishop of the Renewed Church of the United Brethren, and one of the earliest of its fathers in America, was born on the 27th of December, 1696. The years of his youth were spent in a conflict between indifference upon the subject of personal religion, and the desire to obtain the assurance that his sins were forgiven. Sometimes he sought the Lord earnestly, and, when alone in the fields, cast himself upon the ground, and with strong cries and tears implored Him for mercy. At other times he felt no interest in the concerns of his soul, and led a careless life. When he was twenty years of age he resolved to enlist in the army. Accompanied by one of his associates he went to Weisskirchen, in order to offer his services to the recruiting-sergeant. On the way his companion began to relate, in a flippant manner, incidents of his own past life, glorying in his wild pranks. Nitschmann's heart was filled with fear as he listened to him; his views underwent a

sudden change; and from the depths of his inner being there rose up an unuttered cry to God that he might be preserved from sin, and that his purpose to become a soldier might fail if a soldier's life would interfere with his conversion. On presenting themselves to the sergeant, Nitschmann's friend was accepted, but his own services were declined, because he had not reached the proper age.

Greatly disturbed in mind he returned to his home, and told his father and step-mother that he was conscious of being in an unregenerate state, and that he feared that they, too, were yet without a personal enjoyment of divine grace. They would not acknowledge this, argued with him and, at last, became very angry, declaring that they considered him to be in danger of losing his reason, and that he would surely bring them into difficulties which would result in the loss of their property. David replied that this ought to be as nothing in their estimation, when set over against the value of their souls.

It is evident, that, like many other descendants of old Protestant families, George Nitschmann had not yet attained to a full knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus, and believed, while discarding the superstitions of Rome, outward works and devotional exercises to be sufficient.

Five years passed by which David spent in earnestly seeking Christ, without finding Him. His associates were other young men, awakened like himself, and meeting for mutual edification. Among them several subsequently became famous in the history of the Church, such as David Schneider, David Tanneberger, Melchior Zeisberger, and Andrew Beyer.

At last the time drew near in which the Son made David Nitschmann free indeed. A mendicant brought a little book to Zauchtenthal, describing the state of a soul that longs to be converted to God. Nitschmann read this work, found his own case fully delineated, and determined to seek counsel of its author. This was the Rev. John Adam Steinmetz, a pious clergyman at Teschen, in Silesia, distant from Zauchtenthal about thirty-five miles. Christmas had come. The villagers hailed the festival with a merry welcome—they feasted, danced and sang. But David's heart thirsted for higher pleasures, and would be satisfied with nothing short of an assurance that the Saviour had been born to him. Leaving his home, as the shades of evening began to fall, without

informing any one of his purpose, he hastened afoot to Silesia. After walking rapidly all night, he arrived at Teschen at daybreak, visited Steinmetz, and, like the jailor of old, asked the great question: "What must I do to be saved?" The man of God showed him the way of life, explaining the mystery of faith and the all-sufficiency of Christ's merits. Then David Nitschmann's eyes were opened; he saw the cross and his iniquities nailed to it; his soul was set free. Rejoicing with exceeding great joy he returned to Zauchtenthal, and told his experiences to the circle of friends with which he was connected. All this happened in the year 1722.

In the following year, as he was, one day, working in his father's fields, a stranger stood before him. From beneath his lofty brow, eyes that shone with the light of holy zeal and love looked upon David long and earnestly; and a voice of peculiar firmness, that had thrilled the hearts of other Moravians, gave utterance to a brotherly salutation sent by Steinmetz. This stranger was Christian David, "the servant of the Lord." Through his instrumentality the descendants of the Brethren were led to Saxony, where the Church was renewed. A carpenter by trade, for years a soldier, bursting from the bonds of sin and the heavy chains of Romish superstition into the open arms of Jesus, he became an enthusiastic evangelist in his native land, and the Moses of his people. He had come to Zauchtenthal in order to tell the awakened souls of the asylum which he had secured for them on the estate of Count Zinzendorf, in Saxony.

Nitschmann introduced Christian David to the circle of his friends. A meeting was held, and "the servant of the Lord" proclaimed the gospel with great power. Many declared themselves willing to emigrate. Soon after, David's uncle, from Kunewalde, visited Zauchtenthal, and was converted through his nephew's testimony. His own confession, on returning to Kunewalde, produced a revival of religion throughout the village. He was that David Nitschmann, the elder, who is known as "the founder of Bethlehem," although this is a misnomer.

Persecutions now broke out. On the 1st of May, 1724, Nitschmann, two other young men of the same name, together with Melchior Zeisberger and John Toeltschig, were summoned before Toeltschig's father, who was the village justice, and, in the name of

the Lord of the manor, forbidden, under penalty of imprisonment, to continue their devotional meetings. In the night following the next day, May the 2d, at ten o'clock, these five young men, forsaking house and home, and braving every danger, left Zauchtenthal. God was with them, so that they escaped unobserved. In a meadow near by they fell upon their knees and prayed most fervently for their friends, for the whole village, and for themselves. Then rising with renewed faith and courage, they went their way, singing the hymn which their forefathers had composed and sung when driven into exile:

Blessed be the day when I must roam
Far from my country, friends, and home,
  An exile poor and mean;
My Father's God will be my guide,—
Will angel guards for me provide,
  My soul from dangers screen.

Himself will lead me to a spot,
Where, all my cares and griefs forgot,
  I shall enjoy sweet rest.
As pants the hart for water-brooks,
My thirsting soul, with longing, looks
  To God, my refuge blest.

On the twelfth day of May, 1724, a little company of God-fearing men and women was assembled around the foundation walls of a School Building, in what is now the square of the town of Herrnhut, in Saxony. Some of them were of noble birth and ancient line; others were tried ambassadors of the King of kings; and others still peasants and mechanics from Moravia. But one was their Master, even Christ, and they all were brethren. Foremost among them, of dignified bearing and benevolent mien, stood Count Zinzendorf; at his side, the Countess, his young wife; near by, his grandmother, the venerable Baroness de Gersdorf; Baron Frederick de Watteville, his bosom friend; the parish Minister, Rev. John Andrew Rothe, the Rev. Melchior Schaeffer, Christian David, the first immigrants from Moravia, and several other friends. Deeply interested in the proceedings, and closely observing Count Zinzendorf in particular, were David Nitschmann and his four companions. They had arrived that very day, and had been received with open arms by their countrymen. The ceremony of laying the corner-stone made a deep impression upon them; and

when Baron de Watteville knelt upon the stone and offered an impassioned prayer, that God would, on that spot, cause a great and abiding work to begin to the glory of His holy name,—their inmost souls were moved, and they gained the assurance that they had reached the end of their journey, and that at Herrnhut they would find what they were seeking.

David Nitschmann, who was now twenty-eight years old, resolved to learn the trade of a carpenter, that he might support himself and aid the infant colony. To this end he became one of the journeymen of Christian David, and although he was obliged to adopt a manner of living to which he had never been accustomed in his father-land, where his parents were in comfortable circumstances, he was happier and more contented than he had ever been while at home. In this way he spent a year, and then went back to Moravia in order to visit his father, who had been stricken with paralysis, and also in order to induce his friends to emigrate. Two of these he found in chains, on account of their profession of Christ, David Nitschmann, his uncle, and David Schneider, with whom he had been very intimate. He strongly advised them to escape, at the first opportunity, and flee to Herrnhut. This both of them succeeded in doing. Wherever he came he stirred up such as were awakened to leave all for Christ's sake, and to seek the asylum which God had himself prepared for them. After his return to Herrnhut, he married Rosina Schindler, on the 12th of November, 1726.

In the year 1727, Count Zinzendorf, who filled a civil office at the Court of Saxony, obtained leave of absence, and came to Herrnhut in order, if possible, to restore peace to the Church, in the midst of which dissensions had broken out. His efforts were crowned with success, and among those who aided him no one was more active than David Nitschmann. The Count learnt to esteem him highly, and they became life-long friends. On the third anniversary of Nitschmann's arrival at Herrnhut, a Discipline and Statutes, drawn up on the model of those of the Ancient Brethren, were adopted, and he was elected one of twelve elders. He now devoted much of his time to the interests of the Church, and went forth repeatedly as an evangelist into distant parts of Europe. The spirit of his forefathers came upon him. He beheld the prayer of the exiled Bishop Amos Comenius fulfilled. The Church of Mora-

vian confessors was renewed; and with rejoicing heart he did what he could for Zion, and for Zion's King.

The first enterprise in which he engaged (1724) had for its object the awakened souls in his native country. He preached the gospel among them with great power, and extended his visit as far as Bohemia, returning to Herrnhut in the month of October, full of praise to God for what He had wrought. In the following year (1725) he proceeded to the Principality of Saalfeld, and labored among such as were anxious to become acquainted with the Brethren.

Soon after this mission had been accomplished, he took his way to England, in company of John Toeltschig and Wenzel Neisser, in order to present an account of the colony at Herrnhut, and of the resuscitation of the ancient Moravian Church, to several correspondents of Count Zinzendorf in that country, especially to the Countess Schaumburg-Lippe, one of the ladies of the British Court. The three evangelists followed the directions given by Christ to His Apostles, when He sent them to preach the gospel, and told them to provide "neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in their purses;" and although they were, in consequence, exposed to many hardships, and, while in Holland, several times suffered hunger, yet, after their faith had been tried, help came to them in many ways, and they accomplished the object of their journey. Thus the way was opened for the future work of the Church in Great Britain.

The next journey which Nitschmann undertook was to Jena, in company of Martin Dober, where they visited a number of students belonging to the University, among whom a work of grace had begun. Simple-hearted Moravian exiles though they were, ignorant of the wisdom of the schools, they spoke to these young men out of the abundance of their hearts, and taught them that knowledge which makes wise unto salvation.

In the month of May of the same year (1729,) Nitschmann left Herrnhut again. He was commissioned to go to Livonia. Melchior Till accompanied him. After bearing testimony to the power of the gospel at Wittenberg, Berlin, and Koenigsberg, they reached Livonia in safety, where Christian David had for some time been engaged in preaching Christ. On the way back, while sailing across the Baltic in a crowded vessel, in which he could find no other accommodations than those afforded by the deck, Nitschmann suffered,

as he says in a short autobiography, more intolerable mishaps than on all his many subsequent voyages.

These itinerant labors of the Moravian Elder served to make known the Church of his fathers, and to draw the attention of the Christian world of Europe to the settlement among the hills of Lusatia, which was growing to be, more and more, a city of God that could not be hid.

In the year 1731, Count Zinzendorf visited Copenhagen, and was present at the coronation of Christian VI, King of Denmark. He took with him several Moravian brethren, among whom was Nitschmann. Unawed by the splendor of the royal court, and bearing himself with the dignity of a child of the Heavenly King among the polished circle to whose stately manners he was a stranger, this humble Moravian found means to labor for Jesus even here, and formed several connections which tended to advance the cause of the Church. Of particular importance was his meeting with Anthony, Count Lauerwig's servant, a negro from St. Thomas. Nitschmann took him to Herrnhut, where his narrative of the condition of the slaves in the West Indies, and their heathenish ignorance of religion, made a deep impression on the Church and awakened the desire to bring them the Gospel.

This desire was fulfilled in the following year, when David Nitschmann again became prominent, undertaking a work that not only formed an epoch in his own life but also in the history of the Church of Christ.

On the 21st of August, 1732, at three o'clock in the morning, Zinzendorf's carriage rolled from the portal of his castle at Berthelsdorf on its way to Bautzen. Seated within were the Count, David Nitschmann, and Leonard Dober. Their conversation was of the things of God, and the faith by which it was animated has never been surpassed. In the early gray of the morning, while men slept, these servants of God inaugurated a work that has shaken the nations of the world and given many of the kingdoms of this earth to the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ. At Bautzen, after fervent prayer, Zinzendorf took leave of his brethren. He returned to Herrnhut; they went their way, a-foot, to Copenhagen, that they might find a vessel to bear them to the Western world. Their traveling money consisted of two ducats and six *Thaler*. For the rest they trusted God. Nor was their confidence put to

shame. The results of this first Moravian missionary enterprise among the heathen were great and glorious. They have been beautifully embalmed in verse by the sweet singer of the Church, himself a child of the West India Mission.

"Go forth, my sons! through heathen realms proclaim
Mercy to sinners in a Saviour's name:"
Thus spake the Lord; they heard, and they obey'd.

And thou, poor Negro! scorn'd of all mankind;
Thou dumb and impotent, and deaf and blind;
Thou dead in spirit! toil degrading slave,
Crush'd by the curse on Adam to the grave:—
The messengers of peace, o'er land and sea,
That sought the sons of sorrow, stoop'd to thee.

From isle to isle the welcome tidings ran;
The slave that heard them, started into man:
Like Peter, sleeping in his chains he lay,—
The angel came, his night was turn'd to day;
"Arise!"—his fetters fall, his slumbers flee;
He wakes to life, he springs to liberty.

With humble steps the paths of peace he trod,
A happy pilgrim, for he walk'd with God.

Nitschmann went to St. Thomas to assist in establishing a mission, not in order to remain there. He had a wife and children at home; besides his services were required elsewhere by the Church. Hence he returned to Europe in June of 1733. At Copenhagen his report of the success of the undertaking caused no little satisfaction among several members of the royal family; at Herrnhut he was received with thankful joy by his family and the whole congregation.

In the following year he again went forth as an evangelist, first to Holland and afterward to Denmark.

And now the time approached in which David Nitschmann was called to assume that position and to fill that office in the Moravian Church which completed its renewal, and gave to it the historic place which it occupies in Christendom. The ministrations of the Word and of the Sacraments had, thus far, been attended to by the parish minister of Count Zinzendorf's estate. But the work was beginning to extend, and it became evident that the Brethren must have a ministry of their own.

The episcopal succession of their Ancient Church had been carefully perpetuated, even after it had ceased to exist as a visible organization, and was represented by the Right Rev. Bishop Daniel Ernestus Jablonsky D.D., Court Preacher at Berlin, Counsellor of the Royal Consistory, Church-Counsellor, and President of the Royal Academy of Sciences, and the Right Rev. Bishop Christian Sitkovius, Pastor of a church at Lissa, in Poland. With the former Count Zinzendorf opened a correspondence, and laid before him the wish of the Brethren to secure an independent ministry, by having the ancient Moravian episcopate transferred to them. After Jablonsky had satisfied himself with regard to their history and origin, he agreed to such a transfer. The choice both of the Brethren at Herrnhut and of Zinzendorf fell upon David Nitschmann, as the first Bishop.

Zinzendorf says:

"His genuine conversion, his single walk, his upright character, his authority over against the world, his untiring spirit in witnessing of Jesus, his success in organizing and building up churches, his first attempt among the heathen, which God has now so richly blessed—all these things pointed him out as the only candidate, when the time was come to renew the episcopate of the Moravian Church, and Bishop Jablonsky loved him, tenderly and with great respect, until his end."

A formal document was accordingly sent to Jablonsky, requesting him, in the name of the Renewed Brethren's Church, to consecrate David Nitschmann as its first Bishop.

Jablonsky, who had reached his seventy-sixth year, rejoiced that he was to be the instrument in transferring the episcopate of his fathers to the renewed Church of their children, and, having obtained the sanction of his colleague, Bishop Sitkovius, prepared to fulfil the wishes of the Brethren. It was arranged that the consecration should take place privately, in the presence of only two witnesses, both of them members of the Bohemian Church at Berlin.

On Sunday afternoon, the 13th of March, 1735, at two o'clock, David Nitschmann, accompanied by the two witnesses, Janik and Wenzel Zlatnik, proceeded to Jablonsky's house, who led the way to his study. There he seated himself in a large armchair, Nitschmann standing before him, with Janik and Zlatnik on either side, the first to the right of Jablonsky, the other to his left. After a forcible address, he exhorted his three hearers to invoke the aid of God by uniting in the hymn:

Come, Holy Ghost, come, Lord our God,
And shed thy heavenly gifts abroad
On us, and unto every heart
True faith and fervent love impart:
O Lord, who by thy heavenly light,
Hast call'd thy church from sinful night,
Out of all nations, tribes and places;
To thee we render thanks and praises:
HALLELUJAH.

In sweet harmony this noble composition of Robert of France swelled through the apartment, like a psalm of David, when the king sang in his own house. And now Jablonsky rose from his chair, offered a heartfelt and earnest prayer for the gift of the Holy Ghost, and delivered a charge so affectionate and solemn that tears gushed from his eyes. Thereupon, while Nitschmann knelt in deep reverence, this venerable representative of the ancient Moravian episcopate—this grandson of Comenius, who, in the midst of the darkness of his day, had hoped and believed that such an hour of light would come—consecrated him a Bishop of the Church of the Brethren, with the laying on of hands, and committed to him all the functions of his holy office. As the new Bishop rose from his knees, Jablonsky saluted him with an apostolic kiss, and called him "brother." Rejoicing that he had been so highly favored, David Nitschmann returned to Herrnhut. He brought along a certificate of consecration, signed and sealed, and addressed to Zinzendorf and the Church. In this document Jablonsky says:

"I cannot express the deep joy of my heart, that the merciful God has permitted me, in my old age, to see our beloved Bohemian Moravian Brethren's Church, which seemed to be oppressed and extinct in its native country, scattering the seed of His holy Gospel in the old and the new world, and among the most distant nations, and thus spreading the kingdom of our great King Jesus Christ more and more. And I congratulate your excellency, that the Great God, who is wonderful in all his ways, has chosen you to be a blessed instrument in beginning and carrying out such great works."

Two years later, Jablonsky sent David Nitschmann a certificate for his own use. The original of this second document is preserved in the Bethlehem Archives, and reads, literally translated, as follows:

In the name of the Triune God, blessed forevermore; to whom be honor and glory from everlasting to everlasting. Amen.

Whereas it has pleased the Eternal God, whose name is Wonderful, to suffer his faithful confessors, the Bohemian Moravian Breth-

ren, to fall into circumstances so grievous that many of them are necessitated to leave their native land, and to seek other places where they may serve God with a free conscience, and confess His truth; whence it hath come to pass that they are scattered in part to the northernmost countries of Europe, and in part even to the American Continent, and to several islands near the same; and whereas this Allwise God hath put into the heart of the high and noble born Count and Lord, Lord Nicholas Lewis, Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, in a fatherly manner to care for these Bohemian Moravian Brethren in their dispersion, and to make provision for their temporal and spiritual well-being, but especially for their well-established, ancient, Christian statutes and Church discipline; and whereas, with the knowledge and consent of their congregation, he has adopted the godly resolution to have consecrated, in the old Moravian manner, a Senior and Bishop of the said, and of future colonies, together with all their churches and pastors,—the Reverend Mr. David Nitschmann, one of the first of those Moravian witnesses, in America, who must venture all upon God, and to whom the Lord hath given the first converts from the heathen:

Therefore, upon proper request to this effect to me made, I, the undersigned, oldest Senior and Bishop of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren in Great Poland, with the knowledge and sanction of my colleague in Great Poland, the Bishop Christian Sitkovius, have ordained the said Mr. David Nitschmann, on the 13th day of March, 1735, in the name of God, and according to our Christian method, with the laying on of hands, and with prayer, to be a Bishop of said Churches, and have given him power to hold the necessary visitations, to ordain the pastors and servants of the churches, and to fulfil all the functions which belong to a Senior and Bishop.

The faithful Saviour, to whose service he has dedicated himself, powerfully support him, grant him courage and strength, and accompany his apostolic office with the fullness of blessings to the honor of God, and to the salvation of many souls; so that he may, in the vineyard of the Lord, bear much fruit, and his reward may be great in eternity!

The above I have myself written, signed, and sealed with our Church-seal.

Given at Berlin, the 14th day of June, 1737.

{ L. S. }

DANIEL ERNESTUS JABLONSKY,
Royal Court Preacher, Church Counsellor, Counsellor of the Consistory, &c., &c., and oldest Senior and Bishop of the Bohemian Moravian Brethren in Great Poland.

It was in view of this transfer of the episcopate, that the old episcopal seal—an *Agnus Dei*, with the motto: *Vicit Agnus noster, eum sequamur*—used by the Bishops of the Ancient Bohe-

mian Brethren as the church-seal of their Unitas Fratrum, now became the episcopal seal, and, consequently, the church seal, of the Renewed Unitas Fratrum. Hence the work entitled "Memorials of the Moravian Church" greatly errs, when it ascribes (Introduction p. xiii) this seal to the Zinzendorfian period, and asserts that it was not episcopal.

The first ordination which Bishop Nitschmann administered was that of the Rev. J. G. Waiblinger, on July 28th, 1735, a young student of divinity from Wurtemberg, who was appointed to begin a Moravian Church in Holstein. A few days later he ordained two Moravian immigrants, George Piesch and George Berwig, who were commissioned to go to Surinam, and examine into the practicability of commencing a mission.

In the same year, Nitschmann himself sailed from England for Georgia, at the head of a colony of twenty Moravians. This voyage prepared the way, in a certain sense, for another epoch in the history of the Christian Church. When he first sailed westward he was one of the pioneers of the work of foreign missions; when he sailed again he became the teacher of a man whom a great work of a different character awaited. John and Charles Wesley were on board. The former was on his way to Savannah in order to take charge of the Episcopal Church, a good man, but as yet without an experimental knowledge of the pardoning and sanctifying grace of God. He soon became intimate with Nitschmann, and was much impressed with his humble piety and the Christlike spirit which he and his brethren displayed. This impression was greatly deepened on the occasion of a storm. The Bishop and his party were engaged in a religious service. In the midst of a hymn which they were singing, the sea broke over the ship, the mainsail was split into pieces, and the water poured in between the decks. A great outcry arose among the passengers, but the Moravians calmly continued to sing. Wesley asked one of them: "Were you not afraid?" "I thank God, no"—was the reply. "But were not your women and children?" "No; our women and children are not afraid to die." Wesley felt that he had not yet attained to such a state of mind He sought still more frequent intercourse with Nitschmann, and thus that connection between him and the Moravians began which subsequently, through the instrumentality of Peter Boehler, led to his conversion, and to the rise of Methodism in the world.

On the 16th of February, 1736, the vessel entered the Savannah river. Nitschmann and his company were welcomed with open arms by the Moravians who had preceded them. The names of these earliest settlers were the following: Anthony Seifferth, John Toeltschig, Godfrey Haberecht, Gotthard Demuth, Peter Rosa, Michael Haberland, Frederick Riedel, George Haberland and George Waschke, besides the Rev. Augustus Spangenberg. The names of Nitschmann's party were John Boehmer, Matthias Seybold, Martin Mack, Augustin Neisser, George Neisser, David Iag, David Tanneberger, John Tanneberger, David Zeisberger and Anna, his wife, and nine other women, among whom were the wives of several of the first immigrants. A tract of five hundred acres of land had been granted to Zinzendorf by the Trustees for Georgia, and fifty acres additional had been given to Spangenberg. The first of these tracts lay on the river Ogeechee, the other was a part of the present site of Savannah. Of the riverland a portion had been cleared and was under cultivation when Nitschmann arrived, and in the town a house had been erected. Twelve days after the coming of the new immigrants the colony organized a church, and chose Anthony Seifferth as their Pastor. He was ordained by Bishop Nitschmann, in the presence of John Wesley, who had taken up his abode with the Moravians, and who says in his Journal, I, p. 20: "The great simplicity as well as solemnity of the whole almost made me forget the seventeen hundred years between, and imagine myself in one of those assemblies where form and state were not; but Paul the tent-maker, or Peter the fisherman presided, yet with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power."

Soon after, Spangenberg left for Pennsylvania, and the colony in Georgia remained under the supervision of Nitschmann and Seifferth. It began to flourish. God prospered the faithful labors of these sturdy pioneers. They not only were enabled to support themselves, but also to repay the money which had been advanced to them in London. Soon they turned their attention to the Indians. The Creeks and Cherokees heard the glorious gospel of the blessed God. Among such as gladly received "the great words," was Tomo Tschatschi, a celebrated chief. After a time a school for Indian children was organized on an island of the Savannah, called Irene, about five miles from town. And thus Nitschmann, who was privileged to be one of the first preachers of salvation to the slaves

of the West Indies, became also one of the first Moravian Missionaries to the Indians of North America.

How long he remained in Georgia does not appear. It is certain, however, that before the close of 1736, he went to Pennsylvania by way of Charleston, and then sailed again for Europe, from New York.

In the following year, after having paid a visit to England in company of Zinzendorf, he met the Count at Berlin, and assisted at his consecration to the episcopacy.

And now, for a number of years, he was almost constantly on journeys, traveling from country to country, and sailing from continent to continent, in his Master's holy cause. In 1738 we find him in Wetteravia, a district of Central Germany, where he founded a Moravian settlement known as the Herrnhaag. Two years later, in 1740, he again went to America. He was accompanied by his uncle, David Nitschmann the elder, Anna Charity, his uncle's daughter, the celebrated deaconess, who played so distinguished a part in the early history of the Church, Hannah Molther, wife of the Rev. Philip H. Molther, who remained in England preaching the gospel, and Christian Froehlich, destined to serve as a missionary among the Indians. Toward the end of the year they arrived in Pennsylvania, where Bishop Nitschmann began a work which eventuated in abiding results for the American Moravian Church.

The settlement in Georgia was not to become a permanent home for Moravian immigrants. War broke out between England and Spain. In order to repel a threatened invasion, the English settlers took up arms and insisted that the Moravians should do the same. The bearing of arms being contrary to the principles which the Church, at that time, upheld, they refused. Hence their relations with their neighbors grew so unpleasant that some of the Brethren went to Pennsylvania, and others returned to Europe. In the beginning of 1740, only five men, one woman, and a lad remained. Under such circumstances the settlement could not be continued. Hence, in Spring, this remnant also sailed to Philadelphia, in a sloop belonging to George Whitefield, and in his company. They arrived on the 25th of April. A month later Whitefield engaged them to erect a School House on a tract of land which he had purchased in the Forks of the Delaware, forming the site of what is now the Borough of Nazareth, in Northampton County. They

first put up a log cabin for their own use, and then began the work for Whitefield.

At this cabin Bishop Nitschmann and his companions arrived on the 15th of December, 1740. It would be impossible to describe the joy of the inmates when they saw their countrymen. They were in a painful situation. Toward the end of November, Peter Boehler, their leader, had gone to Philadelphia to report to Whitefield. The latter had been incited against the Moravians by the inhabitants of the Irish settlement, near what is now Bath, and a doctrinal conversation which he had begun with Boehler, on the occasion of this visit, had developed such differences, in relation to predestination, as led to an outburst of anger, a peremptory dismissal from his employ, and an imperative order to leave his land forthwith. Informed of these occurrences, Nitschmann comforted his brethren with the assurance that he was come to buy land for the Church and to begin a Moravian settlement in Pennsylvania.

Accordingly, after protracted negotiations, he purchased, through Henry Antes, of Nathaniel Irish, agent for William Allen, of Philadelphia, on the 2d of April, 1741, five hundred acres at the confluence of the Lehigh River and the Monocacy Creek. Prior to this sale, the settlers at Nazareth, presuming that the tract would pass into their hands, had begun to fell its timber, and had put up a cabin of hewn logs, forty by twenty feet in dimensions, with a peaked gable and far projecting roof.

This structure was the first house of Bethlehem. It stood on Rubel's Alley, in the rear of the Eagle Hotel, and was removed in 1823. In it lived Bishop Nitschmann, David Nitschmann, his uncle, Christian Froehlich, Anthony Seiffert, David and Anna Zeisberger, and their son David, Matthew Seybold, Martin Mack, George Neisser, Hannah Hummel, Benjamin Sommers, and James ———. His family name is not known. Peter Boehler had returned to Europe, and Bishop Nitschmann was the head of this infant colony.

But he and his brethren were not satisfied with what they had accomplished. They believed that, for the second time, in the words of Christian David, the sparrow had found a house, and the swallow a nest for herself, where she might lay her young, even the altars of the Lord of hosts. They had a presentiment that the settlement which they had begun, in however humble a way, would become the Herrnhut of America. Hence, in Summer, when they

were, as yet, scarcely rested from the hard labors of the Spring, they prepared to enlarge the place of their habitation.

On the 28th of September the Bishop and his brethren gathered around the foundation-walls of the second house of Bethlehem. No doubt his thoughts reverted to the day, seventeen years previously, when he stood by the corner-stone of the School Edifice at Herrnhut. Then he looked on as an unknown exile, seeking a place where he might worship the Lord in spirit and in truth. Now he stood forth to officiate, as the first Bishop of the renewed Church of his fathers. And although the forest around was wilder than the wood-crowned hills of Lusatia, and although he was again a stranger and a pilgrim in the earth, yet he knew that he was engaged in a work which, if it had been foretold to the Romish destroyers of the Church in the seventeenth century, would have excited their scorn as utterly impossible. Of that seemingly extinct Church he was planting, in the Western world, a colony that has now existed for one hundred and forty years. Is not the righteousness of the Lord like unto great mountains? Does not His faithfulness reach unto the clouds? Are not His judgments a great deep?

The house, whose foundation-stone Bishop Nitschmann laid, is still standing, next above the Moravian Church, and known as the *Gemein Haus*. It was the residence of the clergy for many years, and a part of its upper story constituted the first Chapel in which the settlers worshiped.

While his brethren were busily engaged in building this structure, Nitschmann visited the Indian Mission at Shekomeko, in Duchess County, New York. Toward the end of the year Count Zinzendorf arrived, and celebrated Christmas Eve in the log cabin, giving, on that occasion, the name of Bethlehem to the new settlement. Nitschmann took part in several of the Union Synods which were subsequently organized by the Count, and then sailed to the West Indies, where he found the Mission prospering. On his return, in the Autumn of 1742, he heard that Zinzendorf was among the wild Shawanos of Wyoming. Thither he hastened, and greatly cheered his friend's heart by this unexpected visit. They returned to Bethlehem together. Zinzendorf went back to Europe in the early part of 1743; Nitschmann remained in America for nearly two years longer.

For the most part he lived at Bethlehem, superintending the mission among the Indians. In 1744, on the arrival of Bishop Spangenberg, he returned to Europe. England and Spain were still at war, and the vessel which was bearing him across the ocean became the prize of a Spanish frigate. He was carried to St. Sebastian, on the Bay of Biscay, where he remained a prisoner for some time. In the year 1745 he was liberated, and hastened to Herrnhut. After having recruited from the hardships to which he had been exposed, he spent the next three years in visiting the settlements and domestic missions of the Church in Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

The third journey which he undertook to America, occurred in 1748; but there are no records of his work on this occasion, except that he assisted in organizing a settlement in Maryland, probably at Carrol's Manor. How long he remained in this country does not appear. Having returned to England, he proceeded to Wales, where he labored for some time. Next we find him at Herrnhaag, and Lindheim, in Wetteravia. While staying at the latter place, God afflicted him. His wife died in 1753. Rosina Nitschmann was no ordinary woman. Count Zinzendorf said of her: "She was a devoted handmaid of Jesus Christ, a great heroine, a Phoebe. No woman of the Church has accomplished what she performed in the days of her pilgrimage. Not only did she accompany her husband on some of his many journeys, visiting Denmark, Sweden, Livonia and Pennsylvania in his company, but she also went to Greenland without him; and, in 1736, when the Moravians were suffering persecution, she fearlessly appeared before the Royal Commissioners as the representative of the whole female membership of the Church."

After her death he went to England, where he remained for some time, and assisted in consecrating the first English Moravian Bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Gambold. Soon after, he sailed once more, and for the last time, to America, leading a numerous company of immigrants. He arrived at Bethlehem in April, of 1755. Bishop Spangenberg was at the head of the Church, and Bishop Nitschmann resumed his itinerant duties, laboring in Ulster County, New York, with the view of founding a settlement, which enterprise however proved unsuccessful, and among the Moravians of North Carolina, for whom a large tract of land, called Wachovia, in what

is now Forsyth County, had been purchased. After his return from the South he took up his abode at Gnadenhuetten, on the Lehigh, where Weissport now stands, and was zealous in preaching the gospel to the Indians. He left shortly before the massacre of 1755. At Bethlehem he married a second time. His wife was the widow of Frederick Martin, the distinguished Missionary Bishop of the West Indies.

In 1756, Nitschmann took up his abode at Lititz. He lived in the "Pilgrim's House," which is no longer standing. Early in 1761 he transferred his residence again to Bethlehem, where he spent the rest of his days mostly in retirement, although he served the Church whenever occasion offered.

He was now sixty-five years of age, and could look back upon a life of extraordinary activity and usefulness. He had labored in different parts of Germany, in Livonia, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, in England and Wales, in Georgia, North Carolina, New York and Pennsylvania. He was one of the first two Missionaries to the negroes of the West Indies, and one of the earliest Moravian preachers of the Gospel to the Indians of North America. He had undertaken, in the course of his itinerancy for the spread of God's kingdom, as an Evangelist and as a Bishop, not less than fifty sea voyages. He had helped to establish and spread the Church of his fathers in many parts of the old world and of the new. He was the indefatigable herald of his brethren at royal courts, and among savages and slaves, in the fair regions of civilization, and amidst the howling wilderness of an unreclaimed continent.

In his retirement Bishop Nitschmann continued to observe the old simplicity of the early Brethren. His manner of living was of the most primitive kind, and anything like ostentation or conformity to the world constituted an abomination in his sight.

As age increased he suffered much from rheumatic affections, which he bore with great patience. On the fifth of October, 1772, he was stricken with paralysis, and deprived of the power of speech. His brethren gathered around his couch, singing hymns. He smiled upon them, and let them know by signs how much he was pleased. The last two days of his life were spent in an unbroken slumber. On the 8th of the month, as the shades of the autumnal evening were deepening, his spirit passed to the bosom of his Father and his God. When recording his death, his brethren say of him:

"He rests from his labors, and his works do follow him, for they were done in God."

In the old Moravian Cemetery, at Bethlehem, where the second avenue from Market Street begins, in the first grave on the left hand, sleep the mortal remains of the first Bishop of the Renewed Moravian Church, and upon the lowly mound lies a small tombstone, with this inscription:

DAVID NITSCHMANN,
EPISCOPUS.
Born Dec. 2, 1696, Zauchtenthal,
Departed Oct. 8, 1772.

The Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann is a lineal descendant of Bishop Nitschmann. His maternal grandmother was the Bishop's daughter by his second wife.

SECTION II.

DAVID NITSCHMANN, SENIOR,

OR

FATHER NITSCHMANN.

David Nitschmann, Senior, was the uncle of Bishop Nitschmann, and, among his brethren, generally bore the title of "Father Nitschmann." He was born on the 29th of September, 1676, at Zauchtenthal. His parents were John and Catharine Nitschmann. The spirit of their pious progenitors, who had been members of the ancient Brethren's Church, pervaded their hearts. Every week their house became a sanctuary of the Living God, and was filled with the voice of praise and prayer. So large was the number of neighbors flocking to these services that they could not all find room. The priest of the parish was a God-fearing man. Whenever he visited Zauchtenthal he stopped with John Nitschmann, and encouraged the meetings. On one occasion he said: "When I shall be no more, I am afraid you will have to hide your religious books." This presentiment was fulfilled. Two years later he died, and his successor proved to be a godless tyrant, who told the villagers that he felt like striking dead any man that was not a Roman Catholic. On those Sundays, however, on which he preached at Schoenau, Nitschmann continued his prayer-meetings. But the priest had his eye upon the disciples of Zauchtenthal, and, several times, while they imagined him to be in his pulpit at Schoenau, he came galloping to Nitschmann's door, burst into the meeting, and carried off all the religious books which he could find.

Under parental influences of such a character, David Nitschmann grew up to be sixteen years of age, when he lost both his father and mother. This was a hard blow. He stood alone in the world, and could not recover from the affliction which had overwhelmed him. For three entire years he avoided his associates and gave himself up to melancholy. Then a sudden change took place. But not for good. He passed to the opposite extreme. A misanthrope before, he now became a gay, thoughtless, frivolous young man. To enjoy the world constituted the chief object of his life. But he did not long continue in this frame of mind. He remembered the pious training which he had received, avoided gross sins, and began again, especially on Sundays, to read his Bible and other edifying books.

When he had attained the age of twenty-five years he married Anna Schneider, and settled on a farm which he purchased at Kunewalde. His neighbors did not manifest the spirit of Christ. They were divided among themselves, and often at open enmity with one another. This grieved Nitschmann, and he proposed to begin meetings for prayer and edification. At first they were profitable; but soon those who frequented them grew weary of religious exercises and changed the meetings into social gatherings, from which Nitschmann withdrew. The young people of the village, however, induced him to teach them singing. In this way he became very popular and was honored by all Kunewalde. Inordinate pride now took possession of his heart. But no sooner did he become conscious of this, than he fell into great fear because of the heinousness of the sin, and called upon God for mercy.

Such was his state of mind when, one evening, as he was about sitting down to table with his family, his nephew David arrived from Zauchtenthal and invited him to meet a stranger who had come to Kunewalde and to whom he was very anxious to introduce him. He did not tell him who it was. Nitschmann immediately followed David to the house where this stranger was stopping. He proved to be Christian David, and with him were several of Nitschmann's acquaintances from Zauchtenthal. A service followed which made a deep impression upon his heart. Christian David explained the Beatitudes, and, for the first time, Nitschmann understood the true meaning of saving faith.

Soon after, Christian David visited Kunewalde again, and preached to a large congregation. God blessed his testimony in a

wonderful manner. A great awakening began, and spread throughout the whole neighborhood. Religious meetings were held in many houses, and everywhere the question was asked: "What must I do to be saved?" In the midst of this work of grace a mandate was issued, by the authorities of the Estate to which Kunewalde belonged, forbidding all private religious meetings under penalty of imprisonment and a fine of one hundred Thaler. Nevertheless a service took place, the following Sunday, in Nitschmann's house, which was crowded to overflowing. While it was going on, the door opened, the overseer of the estate rushed in, seized all the hymn books and bibles which he could find, and trembling with rage, hastened away. Undismayed at this outrage, the assembled villagers raised Luther's noble hymn:

God is our stronghold firm and sure,
  Our trusty shield and weapon,
He shall deliver us, whate'er
  Of ill to us may happen.
Our ancient enemy
In earnest now is he,
  Much craft and great might
  Arm him for the fight,
On earth is not his fellow.

The next morning more than twenty heads of families, and among them Nitschmann, were cast into prison, where they remained for three days without a morsel of food. Then they were liberated, but forbidden, in the most positive manner, to hold any more religious meetings.

After the lapse of a quarter of a year, the owner of the estate, Count Harrach, arrived. A new investigation was held, and Nitschmann and others were cruelly treated—put to the torture, and afterward heavily chained, two and two together. Their sentence was to this effect: a fine of one hundred Thaler, and hard labor in irons for one year. Before Count Harrach left Kunewalde, Nitschmann begged him not to impose so severe a punishment, speaking with such earnestness and fearlessness that the Count was moved to tears. He said, however, that it was not in his power to mitigate the sentence, that the prisoners were in the hands of the Consistory. Several weeks later, two commissioners from this body arrived. Nitschmann made a confession of his faith before them; whereupon they called him an arch-heretic and delivered him to the magistrates

for further punishment. He was immediately put in irons again, and taken back to prison. While languishing there, his nephew, from Herrnhut, visited him, and encouraged him to escape. Nitschmann resolved to make the attempt, in the name of his God.

Having prepared for this hazardous undertaking by much prayer, he said, one evening, to his fellow-prisoners: "This night I am going to leave you." One of them, David Schneider, replied: "And I will accompany you." Toward midnight, when all was silent, Nitschmann took his knife with the intention of breaking the lock of his chain, but found that it was open, the jailor having failed to close it. Schneider's irons were soon broken, and the two prisoners left the castle and stealthily entered the yard, looking for a ladder with which to scale the wall. On approaching the portal, they saw that the porter had forgotten to lock the gate, and that their way was open. Thanking God, with deep emotion, for this manifest answer to his prayers, Nitschmann hastened to his house, where he told his wife of his intention to flee to Saxony, and instructed her to wait until he should send for her. That same night, January 25, 1725, accompanied by Schneider, he hastened to Orderberg in Silesia, beyond the reach of the tyrant's hand. At Neundorf, he waited for his wife and children. They succeeded in joining him, and the whole family proceeded to Herrnhut.

Nitschmann arrived in a period of extraordinary religious interest. The immigrants gathered from different parts of Moravia were baptized with the Holy Ghost, and many a heart, which had remained in a state of disquietude and uncertainty, underwent a total change, and was filled with the peace of God which passeth all understanding. Nitschmann obtained this blessing. At Kunewalde he had devoted himself to the service of the Lord, but had never experienced in the same way as after his arrival at Herrnhut, that "the spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God."

Nitschmann remained at Herrnhut for more than eight years, taking an active part in furthering the interests of the Lord and of the Church. Then he went out as a missionary. The West India and Guinea Company of Copenhagen, in the year 1733, purchased the island of St. Croix, which, through long neglect, had become a perfect wilderness. Count de Pless, Lord Chamberlain at the Danish Court, owned several estates on this island. He applied to

Count Zinzendorf for men of God from Herrnhut, who would be willing to act as overseers of his property, and at the same time instruct the negroes. A number of men and women immediately offered to emigrate to St. Croix and begin a colony. Among these were Nitschmann and his wife. In the month of August eighteen emigrants, some of whom were destined for St. Thomas, left Herrnhut, and proceeded to Stettin, preaching the gospel wherever they found a door of utterance. On the 12th of November they set sail from that port. The voyage proved to be a perilous and distressing one. Hardships of every kind befell Nitschmann and his companions. The vessel was crowded, and the accommodations were miserable. A small room between decks constituted the abode of the Moravian party. There they spent months. For, the wind was so unfavorable, and the weather so stormy, that, after having been three weeks at anchor off Copenhagen, the ship was obliged to winter in the harbor of Tremmesand, in Norway. It was not until the 11th of June, 1734, that it reached St. Thomas.

Having remained in St. Thomas for thirteen weeks, Nitschmann and his wife, together with several other colonists, proceeded to St. Croix, taking with them twelve negroes to assist in cultivating the land. But the enterprise was not successful. Scarcely had the party entered the island and pitched their tents, when a rainy season began which rendered the climate unhealthful to such a degree that ten of the settlers died. Nitschmann and two of his companions, Schenk and Fiedler, made the coffins and buried their friends as God called them, one by one. It was a time to try the faith of the strongest Christian. Among the victims was Nitschmann's own wife. His record of her disease, in a brief autobiography which we have of him, is touching and simple: "There I buried my Anna also." After remaining on the island for a year and a half, the enterprise was abandoned, and Nitschmann returned to Europe, arriving at Herrnhut in the autumn of 1736. He found the town very much enlarged, and many immigrants there whom he did not know.

The next four years he spent partly at Herrnhut, and partly at Pilgerruh, a former Moravian settlement in Holstein. Then he joined his nephew, Bishop Nitschmann, and sailed for America.

Nitschmann was sixty-four years old when he reached Pennsylvania, but the energy of his character, and the strength of his body,

were not impaired. While his nephew, the Bishop, was the superintendent of the Moravians who came to the Forks of the Delaware in order to begin a new settlement, he put himself at the head of the workmen, and by his example encouraged them in the arduous enterprise they had undertaken. Full of faith, like Christian David, when Herrnhut was founded, Father Nitschmann "about the time of the shortest day," December 21st, 1740, led the way, through deep snow, into the forest, and assisted by Martin Mack, cut down the first tree for the building of the first house of Bethlehem. And when this house had been completed, he was equally active in the construction of the second, which still remains, and of all the buildings which were erected in the course of the next six years. In this way he labored until his years numbered three score and ten, and with his own hands accomplished as much as the youngest and strongest of the settlers. Such diligence and his astonishing powers of endurance have earned for him the title of "Founder of Bethlehem," although, strictly speaking, it does not belong to him, but to his nephew, the Bishop.

The land, owned by the Church, was originally held by so-called "Joint Tenants," of whom David Nitschmann was one. The other two were Bishop Spangenberg and Henry Antes. In 1750 Nitschmann was naturalized as a citizen of Pennsylvania, and on the 21st of November, 1751, Spangenberg and Antes issued a release by which they sold the two-third part of the property to him. Thus he became the first of the nine nominal Proprietors who, from 1751 to 1869, held, in fee simple, the estates of the Church.

The last ten years of his earthly pilgrimage Father Nitschmann, in the touching language of his brethren at Bethlehem, spent in "loving, praying, blessing, and in a constant intercourse with the Saviour." He often visited in the houses of the village, and went out to converse with the men when at their work. The smiling fields into which the wilderness had been changed, and the abundant crops which God gave the settlement, rejoiced his heart. Wherever he came he was welcome. He took a special interest in the children, and in the conversion of the Indians. When missionaries, or ministers, stopped at Bethlehem, they never failed to call on him, and strangers, from far and near, attracted to the place by the reputation which the Moravians soon attained, were glad to be introduced to this aged patriarch. "He was," so say his brethren, "the friend and joy of all men."

On the 4th of April, 1758, he had an attack of gout, from which he had often suffered. "My hour is at hand," he remarked. Nor was he mistaken. The disease struck inwardly, and human skill was at an end. On the 14th of April Bishop Spangenberg called to see him. After having had a profitable conversation with the dying saint, the Bishop, as he was leaving, said: "The Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world, is and remains our only hope—not so, Father?" "Yes," was the reply, "yes!

The Saviour's blood and righteousness
My beauty are, my glorious dress."

In the afternoon of the same day he died without a struggle, in the eighty-second year of his age. His mortal remains sleep, not far from those of his nephew, the Bishop, in the Moravian Cemetery at Bethlehem. A modern, but simple slab of marble adorns the grave, and this is its inscription:

DAVID NITSCHMANN,
Founder of Bethlehem, who felled the first tree to build the first house.
Born, September 18, 1676, in Moravia,
Died, April 14, 1758.
This second memorial was erected, June, 1853.

The late Bishop John Martin Nitschmann, for many years President of the Unity's Elders' Conference, and President of the General Synod of 1857, was the great-grandson of Father Nitschmann. A son of Bishop John Martin, the Rev. Paul Nitschmann, died, a few years ago, at Gnadenfrei, where he was Principal of the Boarding School. Another son is, we believe, still living, but is not in the service of the Church.

SECTION III.

JOHN CHRISTOPH FREDERICK CAMMERHOFF,

BISHOP OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

Among the Fathers of the American Brethren's Church, John Christoph Frederick Cammerhoff, in many respects, is, perhaps, the most remarkable. Young in years, burning with zeal for the Lord's house, full of courage, learned in the wisdom of the schools, deeply tinctured with fanaticism, he appeared, in the galaxy of American Moravian divines, a star of the first magnitude, shone for four short years with unnatural brilliancy, and then passed away, leaving some works which followed him, and other works which were buried when he sank into the grave. No man exerted greater influence in the Church, and yet the tendencies of no one were more objectionable to Bishop Spangenberg and his staid coadjutors. His merits, as well as his faults, were great.

Cammerhoff was born, July 28th, 1721, near Magdeburg. His father, who filled the office of Justice of the Peace, feared God, and his mother, like Hannah, dedicated him to God's ministry before he was born. After having been instructed at home by private tutors, he entered Kloster Bergen, originally a Benedictine monastery near Magdeburg, but changed, in 1565, into a Protestant School of great celebrity. In Cammerhoff's time Steinmetz was its Superintendent.

Cammerhoff not only studied hard while in this institution, but also found the Saviour. In 1738 he entered the University of Jena. There he met Count Christian Renatus Zinzendorf, who was

pursuing his studies under the direction of John Nitschmann, attended the religious meetings which were held at their lodgings, and became captivated with the emotional piety which distinguished the young Count. Had Cammerhoff followed his own inclinations he would at once have joined the Brethren's Church. But he yielded to the wishes of his parents, and accepted a position as Tutor in Kloster Bergen. Here he labored with great success, and stood high in the estimation of Steinmetz. His heart, however, was with the Brethren, and when he found that two of his fellow-teachers, Schumann and Zurmucklen, were drawn in the same direction, he applied, in their name and in his own, for admission to the Church, proposing that they should all three be appointed to the recently established Theological Seminary at Marienborn. Permission was granted, and, in May, 1743, they entered this School. Count Zinzendorf had but recently returned from America, and welcomed them with great cordiality.

After a service of two years in the Seminary, Cammerhoff was appointed Zinzendorf's amanuensis. Subsequently he was ordained. His abode in Wetteravia and association with its churches inspired him with intense love to Christ, but, at the same time, gave him a tendency which led to results that were injurious to Christ's cause.

Rejoicing in the knowledge of the forgiveness of sins and in the blessedness of their communion with the Saviour, the Moravians of Marienborn and the Herrnhaag fell into spiritual pride. They imagined themselves to be in a state of special grace, almost beyond the reach of sin, which state must be manifested by a special form of religion. Hence they gave a loose rein to their joyous feelings. Instead of the simplicity of language found in the Bible, they adopted a phraseology that was, in the highest degree, sensuous and sentimental, often degenerating into arrant nonsense. When speaking of the atonement, expressions of the most extravagant character were employed, in the social circle and in public discourses. A flood of hymns, treating of the wounds of Jesus, was poured out, and services which had originally been edifying and solemn were changed into occasions for performances more in keeping with the stage of a theatre than with the sacredness of God's house. In short, fanaticism rioted among ministers and people. The Lord preserved them from gross sins, and, in due time, brought them back to soberness and reason; but, for several years, the Wetter-

avian churches, and others to which the evil had spread, stood in danger of utter ruin.

It is owing to this period of Moravian history, that such slanderous attacks were made upon the Church in the last century, and are occasionally renewed even at the present day. The entire restoration of spiritual health of a body of Christians so far gone in fanaticism, a thing without a parallel in ecclesiastical history, is the best and only answer which need be given to assaults of this kind, and shows how firmly the Church was founded upon Jesus Christ as its corner-stone.

That Cammerhoff, who was a man of excitable feelings, and whose heart overflowed with love to God, adopted the sentiments and language of his brethren and fell in with the spirit of the day, is not surprising. He did not see the evil and danger which lay concealed in these tendencies. They really edified him and constituted an expression of his inmost feelings.

From the midst of such influences he was called to go to Pennsylvania as Bishop Spangenberg's Assistant. This appointment was resolved upon by a Synod held at Zeist, in Holland, which body so fully recognized his zeal, eloquence, and devotion to Christ, that it did not hesitate to confer upon him, in addition to an office of such responsibility, the episcopal dignity, although he was only twenty-five years old. After having married, July 23, 1746, at Zeist, a Livonian Baroness, Anna von Pahlen, they proceeded to London, where, on the 25th of September, he was consecrated a Bishop by Bishops Count Zinzendorf, Martin Dober and Christian Steinhofer. Thereupon, in company of a number of Moravian immigrants, he sailed to America and arrived at Bethlehem toward the end of the year.

Spangenberg, whose labors were of the most arduous kind, and who had begged the authorities of the Church in Europe to send him an Assistant, received the young Bishop with unaffected joy. Nor did Cammerhoff fail to respond to the duties of his position with that energy and zeal which characterized him. He helped to superintend the affairs of the Province; he went out to preach among the settlers of Pennsylvania and New York and among the Indians of the forest; he began a correspondence with Zinzendorf and the other heads of the Church the like of which no one has attempted since his day, some of his letters, copies of which are

preserved in the Bethlehem Archives, containing more than one hundred closely written pages, and presenting the minutest details not only of the work in this country but also of the spiritual state of every individual member. But it was not long before Bishop Spangenberg perceived, to his great sorrow, that his Assistant was everywhere introducing the extravagant sentiments and fanatical language of the Wetteravian churches, and what was particularly painful, that he must have received secret instructions in Germany which authorized him to carry on the work contrary to the sound and anti-fanatical views of his superior. Spangenberg had protested against the tendencies which were spreading in the German churches, but this protest had not been well received. Some of his brethren looked upon him with suspicion, and because his soul revolted at their puerile fancies intimated that he was growing lukewarm in the cause. Hence the instructions which Cammerhoff had received. Under such circumstances, while the influence of the young Bishop rapidly increased in the American Province, that of his sober-minded senior began in some degree to wane. And yet, in spite of this antagonism, the work prospered under the joint superintendence of these two servants of God, and the Indian Mission in particular was pushed forward with renewed energy and zeal.

It had encountered serious opposition in the Province of New York, culminating in legislation of the most unjust character; but who could prevent the carrying out of a commission which the Church had from God? Cammerhoff's heart was speedily enlisted in the cause, and he gave much of his time to its furtherance. As the assistant of the presiding Bishop he could not live among the Indians, like other missionaries, but he frequently visited the mission-stations, and undertook an embassy to the Grand Council of the Iroquois Confederacy, at Onondago, in New York, which embassy constitutes one of the most romantic incidents in the early history of the American Moravian Church.

There were several stations among the Mohicans and Wampanoags of New York and New England, and a flourishing church had been established at Gnadenhuetten, on the Mahony Creek, near the present Lehighton, in Carbon County, Pennsylvania. A project was, moreover, on foot to begin a work at Shamokin, the present Sunbury, at the junction of the two branches of the Susquehannah River. This village constituted, in a measure, the Delaware cap-

ital, and was the seat of the celebrated Iroquois sachem Shikellimy, appointed by the Grand Council to see to its interests in Pennsylvania, and to be its Agent among the Delawares who were tributary to the Six Nations. In addition to these enterprises, the Church at Bethlehem carried on a missionary work of its own. Many Indians visited there, and the Gospel was preached to them with such success that a number of converts were baptized. In all these fields of labor Cammerhoff was active, proclaiming the Crucified One, with great power, to the wild warriors, and, through the agency of faithful interpreters, among whom was David Zeisberger, inviting them to look to Calvary and see their finished salvation.

The first extended journey to the Indian country, undertaken by Cammerhoff, had for its object negotiations with Shikellimy. He left Bethlehem in January of 1748, accompanied by Joseph Powel, and traveled on horseback through the wilderness which at that time stretched over Schuylkill and Northumberland Counties, reaching his place of destination after almost incredible hardships, and after having, at the risk of his life, passed through swamps filled with deep snow, and crossed turbulent streams down whose current ice-blocks were dashing with frightful rapidity. At Shamokin he preached the Gospel to Shikellimy and his council, and consulted with the sachem as to the best means for bringing the Word of God to the Iroquois. Soon after his return to Bethlehem he had the satisfaction of administering Holy Baptism, for the first time, to an Indian convert, although he had already baptized several Indian children. This convert was Salome, the daughter of a Mohican woman, and the step-daughter of a Wampanoag Indian, named Nicodemus. The baptism took place on the 14th of March, 1748.

The affable manners of the young Bishop, the zeal for God which he displayed, the fiery eloquence with which he spoke on his favorite theme of Christ's passion—and when preaching to the heathen he could not, in the very nature of the case, use the extravagant phraseology in which he delighted—soon won for him the esteem and confidence both of the Delawares and of the Six Nations. They felt that he wanted to do them good, that he loved them, that he had no sinister objects in view like so many other white people who sought their friendship. Hence on the 15th of April, of the year in which he visited Shikellimy, he was formally adopted into the

Oneida Nation and into the Turtle Tribe of the same, receiving the name of *Gallichwio*, or "a good message."

Bishop John de Watteville having, in September of 1748, arrived at Bethlehem, Cammerhoff revisited Shamokin in his company. The journey was extended to the Wyoming Valley, where preparations were made for beginning a Mission. After their return to Bethlehem, they went to Shekomeko, in Dutchess County, N. Y., and to the stations in New England. Wherever they came Cammerhoff labored zealously for the Lord, embracing also the frequent opportunities which offered of preaching to the white settlers.

In the Spring of 1750 he undertook the embassy to Onondago, leaving Bethlehem on the 14th of May. His wife and several friends accompanied him a day's journey beyond Gnadenhütten. They pitched their tents in a deep forest; and early the following morning, as the young leaves of the oaks were rustling in the breeze and singing what seemed to the young couple a farewell hymn, the Bishop took leave of his wife, and while she returned to Bethlehem under the protection of one of the Brethren, he pursued his way to Wyoming still attended by his other friends. There he found David Zeisberger, who was to be his companion and interpreter. These two servants of God were nearly of an age, and bound together in a close fellowship. They had secured the services of a Cajuga Chief, named Kahotschaunquas, as their guide. The journey which lay before them was of the most arduous character. We who speed over the country on the wings of steam which they traversed in a birch canoe on swollen streams, and on foot or horseback through wild swamps and tangled wastes, can scarcely form a proper conception of the hardships to which they were exposed.

In the afternoon of May 28th, the party, consisting of Cammerhoff, Zeisberger, the Cajuga chief, his wife and two children, left Wyoming in two canoes, and paddled up the Susquehanna. The Indian family occupied the one canoe, the Missionaries the other. In this manner they pursued their way, gliding between mountains and lofty cliffs, encountering frequent rapids which compelled them to land and carry the canoes until smooth water was again found, witnessing more than one storm of terrific grandeur which drenched them to the skin, seeing rattle snakes in abundance basking in the sun, and shooting deer or wild turkeys for their food. Every night they stopped, built a bark hut and lodged there. On the 9th of

June they reached the junction of the Susquehanna and Tioga rivers, in Bradford County, and, that same day, came to the Southern extremity of the Cajuga country, and entered the Indian town of Ganatocherat. Having rested from the hard task of paddling for thirteen consecutive days, and purchased horses, they pursued their journey, on the 12th of June, still in company of the Cajuga family. The trail which they followed led into the very heart of a fearful swamp, where were thickets that defied a passage. After three days of great hardships they struck the Southern point of Lake Cajuga, in Tompkins County. Thence they pressed forward along the lake, and then took a course to the Northeast, still passing through wide wildernesses, until, on the 19th of June, they at last reached Onondago. Their journey from Wyoming had occupied twenty-three days. Cammerhoff and Zeisberger were received into the house of Génassateco, one of the first sachems of the Onondago nation. This man had met Cammerhoff at Philadelphia and given him a cordial invitation to be his guest. Immediately upon their arrival, they were admitted to the Council, which was in session. Cammerhoff delivered a short address, which Zeisberger interpreted. All the sachems present received them with the utmost friendship.

The purpose of their visit was to secure the permission of the Grand Council for two Moravians to live among the Iroquois, in order to learn their language, and thus prepare the way for the establishing of a Mission.

Cammerhoff, with the usual formalities, laid this proposal before the Council, but as its answer was delayed, owing to the intoxication of a number of its members, resolved to proceed to the country of the Senecas and form their acquaintance. Accordingly he and Zeisberger left Onondago on the 24th of June, on foot. This detour to the Seneca Country was marked by hardships such as Cammerhoff had never yet experienced, and by imminent dangers from inebriated Indians. After walking for eight days, in the course of which Cammerhoff's strength nearly gave way, they came to Zonesschio, the capital of the Senecas. There they found the Indians engaged in a fearful debauch; men and women, with a few exceptions, were wild with fire-water and raved through the town like incarnate fiends. It was impossible to negotiate with the chiefs or to preach the Gospel. For two nights and a day Cam-

merhoff and his companion lay concealed in the loft of a small hut, the Bishop suffering intensely from fever, and both in constant danger of their lives. In the early gray of the 4th of July they at last succeeded in escaping, and returned to Onondago on the 10th. There they were detained for ten days longer, and then received a favorable answer from the Council. Permission was given to the Moravians to send two of their "chiefs" to Onondago to learn the language. They should be acknowledged as the brothers of the Indians and enjoy the protection of the sachems. On the 20th of July Cammerhoff and Zeisberger left the capital and reached Bethlehem on the 17th of August, at 1 o'clock in the morning, after an absence of three months. They had traveled over 1600 miles.

This journey was made an occasion for malicious falsehoods by the enemies of the Church. A report spread that Cammerhoff had instigated the Iroquois against the English, and he was summoned to appear before the Governor of Pennsylvania. He gave him an account of his visit and explained its objects to the Governor's entire satisfaction.

Cammerhoff resumed his ordinary duties with energy, but it soon became evident that his constitution had been undermined by the hardships of the tour. In January, 1751, he went to Warwick Township and Lancaster. This was the last official visit which he paid. Soon after his return he had a hemorrhage and from that time on his life ebbed away. On the 28th of April he died, aged only twenty-nine years. He was buried the next day. The Rev. Frederick E. Hermann delivered a brief discourse, and the Rev. Christopher Pyrlaeus conducted a solemn liturgical service. Presbyters and Deacons bore the body to the grave, on which now lies a slab of marble in place of the original stone, with this inscription:

JOHN FREDERICK CAMMERHOFF,
EPISCOPUS FRATRUM,
Born July 28, 1721, near Magdeburg,
Departed this life April 28, 1751, at Bethlehem.

The works of Bishop Cammerhoff that died with him were those which originated in the fanatical tendencies of the Wetteravian churches. As soon as he had been removed from the field of his labors the sentimental extravagancies which he had spread came to

an end. At a subsequent time an effort was made to remove even the traces of them. The manuscript journals and diaries, written either by him or under his supervision and preserved in the Bethlehem Archives, have all been corrected by a later hand and the extravagant phraseology has been expunged.

The works which followed him, because they were done in God, were the zeal with which he inspired ministers and people, the souls which he led to the Cross, the converts whom he gained among the Indians, the power which he infused into all the enterprises of the Church. Christian Indians flocked to his funeral and mourned for him as for a father. In the four short years of his ministry he had baptized eighty-nine of their race, adults and children. The proud sachems of the Iroquois, assembled in council to hear from David Zeisberger an account of his death, replied in these words: "Brother Tgirhitonti, (Bishop Spangenberg's Indian name,) you and your brethren, also those beyond the great water, have informed us that your brother Gallichwio is dead. This we have fully understood. Therefore, Brother Tgirhitonti, the Aquanoschioni (Iroquois) say to you, give diligence and seek out among your brethren another Gallichwio; for this we certainly know that he loved the Aquanoschioni well, and was toward them an upright, honest man, in whose heart no guile was found." Thirty-one years later Zeisberger still heard his name mentioned among the far Western Indians with deep respect as the name of a great man. And such he was, without doubt. His faults were those of the time in which he lived; his merits were his own, through the grace of God.

Bishop Cammerhoff left no issue.

SECTION IV.

Baron John de Watteville,

BISHOP OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

Although Watteville was never stationed in the American Province, yet as he twice visited it officially, and, on both occasions, exercised a very great influence in shaping its development, he may well take his place among its Fathers. We will, however, confine our sketch chiefly to his labors as one of these. To give a full account of his life would fill a volume.

Baron John de Watteville was born October 18, 1718, at Walschleben, in Thuringia, and was the son of the Rev. John M. Langguth, a Lutheran clergyman. He studied theology at the University of Jena, where he became acquainted with Count Christian Zinzendorf, through whom he was brought into the Moravian Church. When introduced to his young friend's father he not only received him with distinction, but also at once conceived for him a strong attachment, remarking to Baron Frederick de Watteville: "This young man is destined to be a chosen vessel unto the Lord." Watteville, like Zinzendorf, had loved the Saviour from his earliest childhood, and this love, while he was at the University, had been crowned, through faith, with the assurance that the Lord was his Lord and his God. Mild, gentle, persuasive, full of courage and zeal, his heart overflowing with the love of Christ—he was a John among his brethren, living in a daily fellowship with Jesus so real and close that he could in spirit lay his head upon

the bosom of his Divine Master as the apostle did in reality. A character like this attracted Count Zinzendorf, and, at a very early period, he regarded Watteville as his son.

In the year 1739, Watteville was ordained, and became the pastor of the church at the Herrnhaag. Subsequently he was stationed at Herrnhut, and in other churches, until the year 1744, when a General Synod convened at Marienborn, in Wetteravia. This body appointed him to the responsible position of principal assistant of Count Zinzendorf. At the same time the bosom friend of the latter, the Baron Frederick de Watteville, who had no children, legally adopted him as his son, and by imperial letters patent, issued at Munich, July 5th, 1745, caused him to be raised to the ranks of the nobility and made a Baron of the Germanic Empire, with the title of John Baron of Watteville. Soon after he entered into an agreement of marriage with the oldest daughter of Count Zinzendorf, the Countess Benigna. This marriage was solemnized a year later, May 20, 1746, at Zeist, in Holland, on the occasion of a Synod. In the following year, (1747,) on the 4th of June, Watteville, although only twenty-nine years of age, was consecrated, at the Herrnhaag, a Bishop of the Church, by his father-in-law, Count Zinzendorf, assisted by Bishops David Nitschmann and John Nitschmann.

Twelve months later Bishop de Watteville and his wife set out for America. They sailed from Gravesend on July 12th, and after a tedious but otherwise pleasant voyage, arrived at Bethlehem on the 14th of September. Watteville had received important instructions. They related in part to the Indian Mission, and in part to the home churches. He first devoted himself to the former.

Soon after his arrival he visited the church at Gnadenhuetten, on the Mahony. Having often heard of the aborigines of the American forest from his father-in-law, whose labors among them are on record, and from his wife, who, as a girl of seventeen years, had undertaken a tour through the wilderness, it afforded him peculiar pleasure to go among the Indians in person. And when he beheld the flock at Gnadenhuetten eagerly pressing around him to bid him welcome, as a messenger of the church from beyond the great water, and as the son-in-law of *Johanan*, Zinzendorf's Indian name, and when he saw the power of the gospel among them, he thanked God and took courage.

Not many days subsequent to his return to Bethlehem he began an extended journey through the country of the Delawares. He was accompanied by Bishop Cammerhoff, Martin Mack, and David Zeisberger, who acted as interpreter. They left Bethlehem on the 1st of October, and, by way of Gnadenhuetten, where they stopped for a few days, proceeded Northward. In a deep forest, under a white oak tree, they pitched their first camp. Watteville had never before passed a night after this fashion. Everything he saw was new and strange. From the refined comforts of European life he had been transplanted into the midst of a primeval American wilderness. But he enjoyed the change, and it afforded him great satisfaction to be initiated into all the mysteries of a forest camp by Zeisberger, who was at home under such circumstances. The stopping place was called "John's Rest" in accordance with the custom, universally observed by the Moravian Missionaries at that time, of giving names to the localities where they built their huts or pitched their tents. A neighboring tree was marked with the initials of such names. Watteville and his party frequently passed camping grounds of this description, where other messengers of peace had been. On the 5th of October they struck the North branch of the Susquehanna, and the following day reached the valley of Wyoming. There they remained for two days, and had friendly intercourse with the Indians, of whom, however, there were not many in the valley at that time. The Bishop and his brethren explored the region fully, and found the different places where Count Zinzendorf, six years before, had pitched his tent. Near one of them they discovered the initial of his Indian name carved in a tree. The principal purpose of Watteville's visit was to prepare the way for the establishing of a mission at Wyoming, and to select a site for a settlement of Christian Indians.

On the eve of his departure he and his three brethren celebrated the Lord's Supper in their tent, consecrating at the same time the beautiful valley in which they were to the living God, and interceding with Him on behalf of the wild savages who roamed through its plains.

The next morning, October 8th, they left, and took their way down the Susquehanna, reaching Shamokin (Sunbury) on the 12th, after having lost their road and undergone the severest hardships in a wide forest stretching back from the banks of the river. At

Shamokin Bishop de Watteville staid four days, and had repeated conversations with Shikellimy, to whom he preached the gospel with great earnestness. A deep impression was made upon the proud sachem's heart, he became a follower of Jesus, and died in the faith not long after. He had been baptized as a child by a Roman Catholic priest. Before leaving, Watteville presented to Shikellimy the gift which Count Zinzendorf had sent him. It consisted of a knife and fork, the handles richly ornamented with silver, and a large silver spoon and chalice of ivory heavily mounted with silver. These articles were inclosed in a casket of morocco to which was fastened a red ribbon. Shikellimy was overwhelmed with astonishment by this unexpected present; and when Bishop Cammerhoff took the casket and flung its ribbon around his neck, the sachem retired to his hut in silence, and spent several hours examining his treasure.

On their way from Shamokin to the settlements Watteville and his companions suffered very much from hunger, so that when they reached the first plantation, in Lebanon County, and saw a field of turnips, they rushed into it, tore up some of the plants and eagerly ate the raw roots. Soon after they came to the house of George Loescher, a member of the Church, who gave them a hearty welcome and had a bountiful repast prepared for them. On the 22d of October Watteville and Cammerhoff arrived at Bethlehem, to the joy of the Church. Their protracted absence had caused no little anxiety. Mack and Zeisberger had parted from them on the last day of their journey and returned to Shamokin.

After having attended to numerous engagements at Bethlehem and in other churches, as we will presently relate, and after having had the great satisfaction of baptizing an Indian convert, a Delaware woman, who received the name of Anna Elizabeth—de Watteville set out, in the beginning of December, for the country of the Mohicans and Wampanoags, in New York and Connecticut. Bishop Cammerhoff and Nathaniel Seidel accompanying him. The stations at Shekomeko, Wechquadnach and Pachgatgoch were in a sad state. Owing to the forcible removal of the Missionaries the converts had been scattered and many had left their first love. It was de Watteville's purpose to look after these straying sheep, and if possible gather them into the fold again. His exertions were crowned with success. A general revival began among the Indians

and led to the renewing of the Mission in Connecticut early in the following year, when David Bruce took up his abode at Wechquadnach and labored faithfully until he was suddenly laid low by the hand of death.[1]

Soon after his return to Bethlehem, de Watteville took part in an interesting and solemn service. Thirteen Indian children and one negro boy, all of whom had been educated in the schools at Nazareth and Bethlehem, were baptized. These candidates appeared for the first time in white garments, and the custom thus introduced was observed for many years. During the time of Bishop de Watteville's visit he baptized not less than twenty Indians. Among those whom he admitted was *Tamecappy* or *Keposch*, one of the head chiefs of the Delawares and bearing the title of king—an old man in the seventy-seventh year of his age, who had been in many a war-party and taken many a scalp.

Such were the labors of Bishop de Watteville among the Indians.

His other work was confined to the home churches. Previous to his visit to Wyoming he made the tour of the most of them in company of Bishop Spangenberg, and immediately after his return from the Indian Country he proceeded to discharge the duties assigned him by Count Zinzendorf and the other authorities of the Church in Europe. A Provincial Synod was convened at Bethlehem, the first assembly in the American Moravian Church that deserves to be so called. It met in the newly-erected Brethren's House, now the middle building of the Female Boarding School, and was attended by one hundred and ten members. The sessions continued from the 23d to the 27th of October.

Bishop de Watteville first set forth the doctrine of the Church as thereafter to be taught, making especially prominent the atonement of Christ considered from the point of view of his physical sufferings. In the course of his explications he showed that his sympathies, to some extent, were with Bishop Cammerhoff, and that, like Count Zinzendorf, he had been tainted with the spirit which prevailed in several of the German churches.

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[1] Loskiel in his history of the Indian Mission states, that twenty new converts were baptized on the occasion of de Watteville's visit to Connecticut. This is a mistake. No new converts were baptized; the baptism to which he refers took place in March of the following year, as the result of Bruce's labors, and was administered by Bishop Cammerhoff. All this is evident from the official Register of Indian Baptisms in the Bethlehem Archives.

Next he unfolded the future ecclesiastical organization of the American Moravian Church. It was no longer to be a mere colony of the European Church, and no longer to have an indefinite position in connection with "the congregation of God in the Spirit"—as Zinzendorf had called the union among the Christian denominations of Pennsylvania which he had attempted to bring about through the agency of the Union Synods—but was to constitute an integral part of the Moravian Church, a Province, and to assume an independent position among the other Churches of the country.

Finally he made known the resolutions of the General Synod of 1745, held at Marienborn, concerning the three grades in the ministry of the Church which were to be strictly maintained. The Provincial Synod yielded assent to all these points, and at the close of the sessions a number of ordinations took place.

On the 13th of November Bishop de Watteville carried out another important instruction which he had received. The office of Chief Elder, that is, of *spiritual* Head of the Church, had been abolished in Europe as early as 1741, and Jesus Christ Himself had been acknowledged as the only Head and the Chief Shepherd of His people. In America, however, this office had continued until the period of de Watteville's visit and was filled by Bishop Spangenberg. On the day named, de Watteville, in a solemn public service, announced that Spangenberg had resigned his office of Chief Elder and that the same would cease in the American churches also. This was a proper and salutary change. The Chief Eldership involved a power which might have led to abuses like those which have made the Romish hierarchy notorious. But with the abolition of the office in this instance was combined a treatment of the individual who had filled it that seems to us of the present day to have been unjust. De Watteville, in accordance with the instructions of Zinzendorf, advised Bishop Spangenberg to give up all his other offices also, and to retire from the government of the Church. Spangenberg obeyed, vacated the responsible position which he had so ably filled, and went to Philadelphia, where he spent nearly a year in the seclusion of the little flock of Moravians gathered in that city. Whether there was any other cause of disagreement between this worthy man and some of his Brethren can not at this day be ascertained. But when Spangenberg and the Count met in the following year in Europe their differences were

healed, and before long the former returned to his post in America.

In January of 1749 Bishop de Watteville called a second Provincial Synod. It met again at Bethlehem, and was in session from the 23d to the 26th of the month. On this occasion the work of the Brethren in America was once more fully discussed, and beside the fanatical tendencies represented by Cammerhoff, a number of converts from the Indian country, as also several negroes, Mennonites and one Tunker, were baptized. Soon after the Bishop made the tour of the Moravian churches for a second time, and then, on April 8th, left America in order to visit the Mission in the Danish West Indies. His wife meanwhile remained at Bethlehem. After an absence of three months, in which period he made himself acquainted with the state of the work in St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. Jan, and baptized many converts, he returned to America, reaching Bethlehem on the 4th of July.

About the time of his arrival a number of sachems of the Six Nations came to Philadelphia to hold a council with Gov. Hamilton. Bishop de Watteville, accompanied by Bishop Cammerhoff, Pyrlaeus and Seidel, proceeded to the city, where they were joined by Bishop Spangenberg, had an interview with these Indians and renewed the compact made between the Iroquois and Count Zinzendorf in the year 1742. In consequence of these negotiations the embassy to Onondago, described in the last section, was undertaken by Bishop Cammerhoff.

On the occasion of this interview with the sachems Bishop de Watteville was adopted into the Onondago Nation and the Turtle tribe, receiving the name of *Tgarihontie*, which means "a messenger."

After his return to Bethlehem he devoted himself zealously to those duties of his visit which yet remained, laid the corner-stone for a new church-edifice at Gnadenhuetten and then, on the 15th of October, set sail in the *Irene* from New York for England, where he arrived after a voyage of only four weeks, which was something extraordinary in those days.

The next thirty-four years of his life Bishop de Watteville spent in zealously laboring in different parts of the Church, until 1760 as Zinzendorf's Assistant, and after his death, as a prominent member of the Supreme Executive Board. Much of his time was given to official visits. He paid nine to England and Ireland, nine to Holland, five to various sections of Germany, and two to Switzerland,

one to Denmark and one to Greenland, where the natives aptly gave him the name of *John Assersok*, or "John the Loving One."

In 1783, at the age of sixty-five years, he undertook a second visit to America, and was again accompanied by his faithful wife, who had long since learned, like her father, to suffer hardships for the Lord's sake, and to be in journeyings often, in perils on the sea, and in perils in the wilderness. This last official journey was rendered memorable by dangers and trials such as the venerable Bishop had never before experienced. They took ship at Amsterdam, and put to sea on the 27th of September. In the beginning of November, when off the coast of America, a series of storms set in which made it impossible to reach New York. They beat about in utter helplessness, provisions and water began to fail, most of the sails were torn, the principal anchor was lost, and the ship itself very much strained. In January, of 1784, they steered for the West Indies. Watteville and his wife lived for weeks on hard biscuits and beer. The supply of water was entirely exhausted, until a copious rain replenished the casks. About the middle of February they at last reached the West Indies; but in the night of the seventeenth the vessel struck a reef off the Island of Barbuda and was lost. The passengers and crew took to the boats. In descending Bishop de Watteville missed his hold and fell into the sea. He was rescued by two sailors with great difficulty. After many narrow escapes the entire ship's company reached the land. The Governor of Barbuda took Bishop de Watteville and the Countess Benigna to his own house, and showed them great kindness. They had been on shipboard one hundred and forty-four days, and had suffered intensely. In the European and American churches great anxiety prevailed on their account, and many believed that they were lost. They remained in the West Indies for several months, and then sailed to the United States, where they arrived in safety, reaching Bethlehem on the 2d of June. The whole church, but especially their own daughter, Anna Dorothea de Schweinitz, wife of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, the Administrator of the Unity's estates, gave them a warm welcome. In her home they joyfully rested from all their toils.

Bishop de Watteville spent three years in America, visiting the churches of the Northern and Southern Provinces, holding frequent conferences with the clergy, consecrating John Ettwein and

John Schaukirch, (the latter for the Mission in the West Indies,) Bishops of the Unitas Fratrum, and, in spite of his frequent ailments brought on by the hardships he had undergone, attending with characteristic faithfulness to all the duties which he had come to fulfil. In the Summer of 1787 he returned to Europe, arriving at Herrnhut on the 13th of September. The whole congregation, young and old, assembled in the church in order to welcome the Bishop and his wife, and when the venerable couple entered and advanced to their seats, all the people lifted up their voices and wept, for gratitude and joy that God had brought these His faithful servants out of so many dangers back to their home.

Watteville resumed his duties in the Executive Board as well as his shattered health permitted. But only one year after his return, while with his colleagues at Gnadenfrei, in Silesia, on the 7th of October, 1788, the Lord called him to his eternal rest. He died without a struggle, amidst the hymns of his nearest friends, and in the presence of his family. The days of his years were three-score years and ten. He served the Church for half a century.

Bishop de Watteville had four children, two sons, and two daughters. Both the sons died in their youth. The elder daughter, as has been said, married John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, whose oldest son, Lewis David de Schweinitz, and his four sons all were, or still are, in the service of the American Province. The younger daughter, Maria Justina, married Count Henry the LVth Reuss. Her descendants are not connected with the Brethren's Church.

SECTION V.

PETER BOEHLER,

BISHOP OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

Next to Zinzendorf and Spangenberg, no one among the early Moravian Fathers in America is better known and more highly celebrated, in the Christian Church generally, than Peter Boehler.

The descendants of those ancient confessors of the Gospel who shone as a burning light, for nearly two centuries, in Bohemia, Moravia and Poland, and stood forth as the Reformers before the Reformation, were ordained not only to be the bearers of the doctrine of the atonement in the age of rationalism, not only to lead the way in reviving the long neglected work of Foreign Missions, not only to evangelize the State churches of the Continent of Europe, through their *Diaspora;* but also, through the agency of individuals whom they educated, or to whom they unfolded the fullness of divine grace, to perform their part in originating principles which have overcome the power of unbelief, purified the Church, and brought it back to the faith once delivered to the saints.

Such a man was Schleiermacher, the philosopher and theologian, who coming from the sequestered school of the Moravians where the Saviour's name was revered and loved, took his place in the broad arena of German theology, and, while rationalism thought it was about to celebrate its final triumph, prepared the minds of his countrymen for again honoring the Cross, and showed himself to be the herald of a new era in which the Gospel of Christ gained the supremacy.

Such a man was George Christian Knapp, the only defender of the faith at the University of Halle, surrounded by unbelieving colleagues, but lecturing to hundreds of students on evangelical theology, in upholding which he was strengthened and encouraged by his constant intercourse and correspondence with the Brethren.

Such a man, in our own country, was Hazelius. Thoroughly trained in the biblical religion of the Moravians from his earliest childhood, a pupil of their theological Professors, himself a Professor among them, he went forth to labor in the Lutheran Church of America, and for many years was one of the most influential and respected of its teachers, educating more candidates for its ministry than any other of its Masters.

Such a man, finally, was John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, which numbers its adherents by the millions. From the Church of the Brethren he received the experimental knowledge of the free grace of God in Christ, and from them he borrowed some of those principles which have given such astonishing success to its cause. And it was Peter Boehler whom God used as an instrument in bringing about this result. Hence one of the latest of Methodist historians says: "Peter Boehler—a name which will ever be memorable to Methodists."

In view of this circumstance we will give as full an account of his labors in England also as our sources will permit, and not confine ourselves to his work in America.

Peter Boehler was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, December 31, 1712. His parents were John Conrad and Antoinette Elizabeth Boehler. They kept an inn. At the age of four years he began to attend school, and when he was eight years old commenced studying Latin. In 1722 he entered the Gymnasium at Frankfort. His intention was to prepare for the studying of medicine, but his teachers induced him to relinquish this idea and devote himself to theology. Accordingly, in 1731, he entered the University of Jena.

His religious experiences were of a peculiar kind. In his boyhood he had been wild and wicked; at a later time a visit which a clergyman induced him to pay to a woman condemned to death for an attempted murder, who had found the forgiveness of her sins through faith in Christ, made a deep impression upon his heart. He solemnly resolved to do better and began a work of self-reformation, but did not go to the Saviour for pardoning grace.

Hence he remained without peace. This discouraged him. He did not return to his wicked ways, but he stopped seeking the Lord. In this frame of mind he came to the University.

A number of its students were acquaintances of his, having been with him at the Gymnasium. The majority led a riotous life and mocked at religion. A few strove for better things and tried to serve the Lord. They belonged to an association of students which stood under the influences of the Brethren's Church. Evangelists from Herrnhut were accustomed to come to Jena to encourage and counsel this body of believing young men. A week before Boehler's arrival a friend of his entered the University, and, disgusted with the life of the ungodly students, went over to the Christian party. He told his companions of Boehler's coming, and they resolved to draw him to their circle. Hence when he arrived, at 1 o'clock in the morning on the 20th of April, he found his friend waiting for him at the post-house, the bearer of a pressing invitation from the Christian students to put himself at once into their hands. Without making any promise to this effect he followed his friend to the house where they were assembled. No sooner, however, did his former associates at Frankfort hear of his arrival than they tried their utmost to persuade him to leave the hated pietists. But, although his heart was cold to the influences of religion, he would not yield to such enticements, and had a strong conviction that he ought to cast his lot with the Christian party. Accordingly he took lodgings at the house of Deacon Brumhart, a pious clergyman, and very soon attended one of the private services held by Spangenberg, who was a Professor in the University. One remark of the speaker made a deep impression upon Boehler's heart: "The Saviour has power to forgive sins." "I have tried everything else in the world," Boehler said to himself, "but this I have not yet tried. If this is true, I will be happy." He went to his rooms determined to call upon Christ for the pardon of his sins, but by a strange perverseness decided not to begin until the first day of the following week. It was Wednesday when he took this resolution. But by Saturday his desire to test the efficacy of the Saviour's power grew so strong that he waited no longer, and at once cast himself with earnest prayer at His feet. In answer to such supplications Christ revealed Himself. He believed, was forgiven, and knew experimentally that what he had heard from Spangenberg was true.

He now devoted himself to the study of theology with zeal and great satisfaction. A life-purpose had been revealed to him through the peace of God which filled his soul. He thought no more of the ministry merely as a profession and of theology merely as a science. Both were given him of God. To preach the Gospel was a glorious privilege; to prepare for such work by studying theology was an exalted pleasure. Hence in addition to his studies he took upon himself the duties of an occasional teacher in the Primary School of Jena, where he had many opportunities of doing good and of promoting the cause of God. From this School, in which he continued to labor during the whole period of his stay at Jena, came several pupils who, in after years, joined the Moravian Church and were active in its service.

In 1732 Count Zinzendorf visited Jena, and Boehler became acquainted with him. Their hearts flowed together almost as soon as they met. This friendship was intensified in the Autumn when the Count again came to Jena for the purpose of encouraging and advising the Christian students. It appears that after the decease of Deacon Brumhart, and after the departure to Halle of Professor Spangenberg, the connection between them and the brethren at Herrnhut was gradually relinquished, until only nine students remained who held to the principles of the association which had been founded by the Christian party. Zinzendorf, at the request of this remnant, tried to reorganize the association, and was so successful that it grew before long to greater influence than at first, numbering more than one hundred students of theology, of law, and of medicine. With Peter Boehler and another student the Count entered into a special covenant to the end that they would remain faithful to Christ under all circumstances, and would serve Him with their whole heart until death. This covenant Zinzendorf and Boehler, by the grace of God, upheld, but the third member fell away. In the course of the following Christmas season, Boehler for the first time preached the Gospel in a village-church near Jena.

That his mind had received a new impulse and his heart had opened still more fully to the influence of the love of Christ, through his intercourse with Zinzendorf, is evident from the autobiography before us. "The year 1733," he writes, "was an extraordinarily happy one for me, and was spent in a constant intercourse with the Saviour; the foundation for my future work in His ser-

vice was then laid." In the Spring of 1734 he visited his parents at their request. Great was the change which his views and feelings had undergone in the three years of his absence. He came back to his home rooted and grounded in the faith, instant for Christ in season and out of season. His influence in the family-circle was blessed of God, so that his parents and sisters began to realize the necessity of personal religion in a way they had never done before, and subsequently they all came out on the Lord's side.

By the directions of his father he now entered the University of Leipzig, but, after only a short stay, returned to Jena. This was that sphere of usefulness to which God had appointed him. He devoted himself especially to the Association of Christian students, and extended its principles to the good of many citizens of the town. He appears to have stood at the head of the enterprise, and his influence was generally acknowledged. More than one-half of the students who held to the Association became members of the Moravian Church, and among them were some of the most zealous of its ministers and missionaries.

In 1735 Boehler visited Herrnhut for the first time, and was refreshed in spirit by his intercourse with the Brethren. He preached to the congregation, and his sermon was blessed to the conversion of George Schulius, who subsequently became his fellow laborer in South Carolina. After his return to Jena he resumed his studies and his work for God with great zeal, and, in the year 1736, was appointed *Magister legens* at the University, that is, he received the right to lecture as a junior Professor. His connection with the Moravians continued. The Evangelists from Herrnhut who visited Jena, or passed through the town on their way to different parts of Europe, always lodged with him, although he had but little to spare; and, when Christian Renatus Zinzendorf was sent to the University his father requested Boehler to assist in superintending his studies. This he willingly undertook to do; but, not long after, he received, very unexpectedly, a letter from the Count, asking him whether he would enter the service of the Moravian Church, and go to America as pastor of the infant colony established at Savannah, and, at the same time, begin a missionary work among the slaves of South Carolina. Boehler at once accepted this vocation. On the 13th of September he celebrated a love-feast with the whole body of the Jena brotherhood, numbering more than one hundred

students, and left the following day for Herrnhut, where he remained for nearly two months, supplying the pulpit, which was then vacant, of the parish church at Berthelsdorf. In December he traveled to Wetteravia, and in the chapel of the old feudal castle of the Ronneburg, he was ordained by Count Zinzendorf and Bishop David Nitschmann. In the beginning of the year 1738 he left for England, reaching London on the 18th of February. In that country a great work awaited him.

Upon his arrival in London he first went, together with his two companions, Frederick Wenzel Neisser and Schulius, to the house of Mr. Weynanz, who appears to have been a Dutch merchant, and a friend of the Moravians. [1] There he met with a clergyman of the Church of England, who had recently returned from Georgia and was the bearer of a letter to Count Zinzendorf from John Toeltschig. Boehler was introduced to this clergyman. His name was John Wesley. This meeting had been ordained of God. The former writes of it in his manuscript autobiography: "This was the beginning of my subsequent connection with the Wesleys, and led to the great awakening among our English friends." The latter, in his Journal, speaks of it thus: "A day much to be remembered. From this time I did not willingly lose an opportunity of conversing with him," (Boehler). Wesley's heart had been prepared for a profitable intercourse with Boehler by his previous association with Bishop David Nitschmann and the Brethren in Georgia. He acknowledged the power of the gospel as revealed in the lives of these men. "His unavailing asceticism had been rebuked by their more cheerful practical piety; his unsuccessful, because defective, preaching, by their more evangelical and more useful labors; and his rigid ecclesiasticism by the apostolic simplicity of their church councils."[2]

To labor among the awakened souls whom Boehler might meet in England, was one of the instructions which he had received from Count Zinzendorf. Therefore he began this work as soon as he was established in his lodgings, which Wesley had secured for him

[1] There is a discrepancy in the dates as given in Boehler's manuscript and Wesley's Journal. But this can be readily explained. The one employed the old the other the new style, making a difference of eleven days. Adding eleven to the several dates mentioned in Wesley's Journal, and they agree exactly with those in Boehler's manuscript.

[2] Steven's History of Methodism, Vol. 1, p. 100.

in Westminster, near the house of James Hutton, who eventually became a zealous member of the Church. At his request Wenzel Neisser sought out some Germans, whose acquaintance Zinzendorf had made, and with them Boehler began private meetings for prayer and exhortation. Before long a number of inquirers attended these meetings, among whom were not a few Englishmen. There must have been something very attractive in the discourses and conversations of Boehler, as there undoubtedly was great power in the doctrines which he taught. For, as he says in his manuscript, although he could not "put together correctly three English words," yet his English acquaintances visited him most frequently, and ceased not to ask him to tell them about "the forgiveness of sin, and the sinner's Friend." Prominent among these inquirers were John and Charles Wesley.

As the letters which Peter Boehler wrote to Count Zinzendorf, describing his intercourse with the Wesleys, have never, to the best of our knowledge, been published in the English language, although they are found in Croeger's German History of the Moravian Church, and in Theophilus Reichel's Biography of Boehler, we propose to give the further narrative of his labors in England, as far as possible, in the words of these interesting documents.

After having spent ten days in London, engaged in preaching the gospel, Boehler, at the earnest request of the two Wesleys, accompanied them to Oxford. He says: "On the 28th of February I traveled with the brothers John and Charles Wesley from London to Oxford. The elder of the two, John, is an amiable man; he acknowledges that he does not yet know the Saviour in the right way, and suffers himself to be instructed. He loves us sincerely. His brother, with whom you frequently conversed last year, when you were at London, is greatly troubled in mind, and knows not what to do in order to see Jesus. Our method of believing in the Saviour is an entirely too easy one for the English—they cannot accommodate their minds to it; if it were somewhat more artificial they would more readily understand it. The best among them, especially the students, speak of scarcely anything but following Christ; however of *faith* in Him they have only that idea which men generally entertain, namely, that one imagines this grace—persuades oneself to possess it. Hence they take for granted that they believe, and want to evidence their faith by works, laying burdens

upon and tormenting themselves in a pitiful manner. While on my way to Oxford I was much troubled and cast down, for I scarcely knew what I ought to do in that place. But now my heart has been opened, and, through grace, I have received courage to go to these souls in the name of the great Redeemer, and to tell them that of which they are as yet ignorant. Yesterday a Master of Arts from the University took me to see the library. Having examined the interesting collection for half an hour, the thought occurred to me, that I ought to tell him about the Saviour. So I addressed him in Latin, and besought him to behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world. He was very eager to understand the doctrine of free grace, asked many questions, confessed that he had not experienced such grace in his heart, and listened for two hours most attentively to what I had to say."

From that time Boehler delivered one or two Latin discourses daily to a number of awakened students, besides being almost constantly engaged in private conversations with inquirers. Among those with whom he became acquainted was the Rev. John Gambold, Rector of Staunton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire. This clergyman told Boehler that he had, for ten years, been seeking to be a child of God, but had never found peace. Deeply interested in the study of mystical writings, he had endeavored to gain his end by much fasting and watching, but without success. Boehler unfolded to him the fulness of God's grace in Jesus Christ, and thus led Gambold to a knowledge of the truth. Subsequently he joined the Moravians, and became a celebrated Bishop among them.

Boehler continues the narrative, in one of his letters, thus:

"Charles Wesley was taken very ill this night (March 8th) and with the break of day he sent for me, and begged me to pray with him that God would grant him patience and relieve him of his pains. I prayed for the salvation of his soul first, and then for the cure of his body. Soon after he fell asleep and the pain became less severe. He acknowledges that these sufferings come from God, as well as the relief which he now experiences. In the afternoon I took a walk with three students and spoke to them upon the foundation of faith and the propriety of uniting themselves in an association. They agreed to this, and said we would converse more about it to-morrow."

"March 9th a band was organized among the students mentioned above. I spoke with them upon the chief principles of the same,

and they determined to assemble three times a week. Afterward I attended a meeting of citizens of the town. There were about forty present. I hear that there are two other meetings of this kind, so that over one hundred citizens here are seeking God. The night I spent watching with Charles Wesley, who continues very dangerously ill. On the following day I met in his room the Rev. Mr. Gambold, who was about administering to him the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Wesley asked me partake of it with him. I did so. Several other persons were present. The invalid was very happy, and said that if he died he would go to the Saviour as one that hungers and thirsts."

"March 13th one of the students belonging to the band took me to a school where twenty children are gratuitously instructed. In the evening another introduced me to a meeting of about twenty females, to whom I proclaimed the Saviour; then to a second meeting, where about forty persons were assembled. My heart was inspired to speak of the Kingdom of Christ, sometimes in broken English and sometimes in Latin. One of the brethren interpreted. This is the fourth house in which I have attended such meetings. The night I again spent with Charles Wesley, who is not yet out of danger."

After having intrduced Boehler at Oxford, John Wesley had returned to London. No sooner, however, did he hear of the illness of his brother than he hastened to his side, and found him, as he says in his Journal, "recovering from his pleurisy, and with him Peter Boehler."

In the evening of the day after his arrival he took a walk with Boehler, in the course of which the latter succeeded in making Wesley understand that unbelief is a sin. Wesley relates the incident as follows: "By whom [Boehler], in the hand of the great God, I was on Sunday, the 5th, clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved." (Journal I, p. 62.) Boehler says: "On the evening of the 16th (N. S.) I took a walk with the elder Wesley and asked him about his spiritual state. He told me that he sometimes felt certain of his salvation, but sometimes had many doubts; that he could only say this—'if what stands in the Bible is true, then I am saved.'" Thereupon I spoke with him very fully, and earnestly besought him to go to the fountain opened for sin, and not to mar the efficacy of free grace by

his unbelief. I also consulted him about the inquirers at Oxford, and made several proposals having in view their growth in knowledge and grace. Later in the evening Wesley and other students met, and we had a religious conversation. The case of a prisoner condemned to death gave me an opportunity to speak of the duty of bringing souls to the Saviour." Wesley speaks further of this evening walk as follows: "Immediately"—after he had been convinced of unbelief—"it struck into my mind, Leave off preaching. How can you preach to others, who have not faith yourself? I asked Boehler whether he thought I should leave it off, or not He answered, 'By no means.' I asked, 'But what can I preach?' He said, 'Preach faith *till* you have it; and then *because* you have it, you *will* preach faith.'"

On the 21st of March, after a stay of three months at Oxford, Boehler returned to London. There he continued to teach the inquirers with whom he was acquainted. Among them was James Hutton. A letter having arrived from Zinzendorf for Charles Wesley, Boehler, accompanied by Wenzel Neisser, took it to Oxford. "The most remarkable feature of this second visit," says Boehler, "was a very full conversation which I had with the two Wesleys, in order to impress the Gospel upon their minds and entreat them to proclaim it to others, as they had opportunity at Oxford, and elsewhere. They confessed their doubts respecting the truth of the doctrine of free grace through the merits of Jesus, whereby poor sinners receive forgiveness and are set free from the dominion of sin. The Saviour, however, granted me wisdom to convince them from the Scriptures, and they had no way of escape except to ask to see and converse with persons who had made the experience of which I spoke. I told them that in London I hoped to be able to show them such Christians." Wesley says: "Thursday, 23d, (O. S.), I met Peter Boehler again, who now amazed me more and more, by the account which he gave of the fruits of living faith—the holiness and happiness which he affirmed to attend it. The next morning I began the Greek Testament again, resolving to abide by the law and the testimony, and being confident that God would hereby show me whether this doctrine was of God." (Journal I, p. 64.)

Boehler having gone back to London was there joined by Wesley, on the 22d of April (O. S.) The latter relates in his Journal,

that he no longer objected to the nature of faith and acknowledged the happiness and holiness, which his friend described as the fruits of faith; but that he could not comprehend the instantaneous character of the work. Therefore he searched the Scriptures again, especially the Acts of the Apostles and found scarcely any instances of conversion which were not instantaneous. "I had," he writes, "but one retreat left, namely: thus, I grant, God wrought in the first ages of Christianity, but the times are changed. What reason have I to believe He works in the same manner now?" "But," he continues, "on Sunday, April 23d, (O. S.) I was beat out of this retreat, too, by the concurring evidence of several living witnesses, who testified, God had thus wrought in themselves, giving them in a moment such faith in the blood of His Son as translated them out of darkness into light, out of sin and fear into holiness and happiness. Here ended my disputing. I could now only cry out, 'Lord, help Thou my unbelief!'" (Journal I, pp. 65 and 66.) Boehler describes the events of this day as follows: "May 4th (N. S.), I heard John Wesley preach. I could understand all he said, but it was not what I wished to hear. Hence I took four of my English brethren, among them Wolf, to see him, that they might tell him their experience and show him that the Saviour receives sinners quickly and savingly. One by one, they began to unfold to Wesley what they had experienced, Wolf, especially, a new convert, spoke most feelingly and with great power of the grace which he had received. Wesley and others, who were with him, listened in blank amazement. I then asked Wesley, what he thought of such experiences? He answered, that four instances were not enough and could not convince him. I replied, that I could bring forward eight more cases of the same kind in London. After a little while he rose and said: "Let us sing the hymn, 'My soul before thee prostrate lies!'" (Hymn-book, No. 456, composed by Richter.) During the singing he frequently wiped the tears from his eyes, and immediately afterward called me into his bed-room and confessed, that he was now convinced of the truth of what I had told him about faith and would no longer dispute it, but that he had not attained to this grace. How was he to secure such faith? He had not sinned as grossly as others. I replied, that not to believe in the Saviour was sin enough, and exhorted him to seek Christ until he had found Him as his Saviour. I was

strongly moved to pray with him and therefore called upon the name of the Redeemer to have mercy upon this sinner. After the prayer Wesley remarked that when the gift of saving faith would once be his he would preach upon no other subject."

Boehler continues: "May 6th (N. S.) I had an affectionate conversation with Wesley. He informed me of the opposition he had met with on the part of some clergymen to whom he had made known his conviction that he did not as yet possess true faith. He asked me, what he ought to do? whether he ought to tell his state to the people to whom he preached? I answered, that I could give him no rule in this respect, that he must follow the promptings of the Saviour; but earnestly begged him not to look for the Saviour's grace in the future, but to believe that it was present, nigh to him, and that the heart of Jesus was open and His love to him very great. He wept bitterly, and asked me to pray with him. I can freely affirm, that he is a poor, broken-hearted sinner, hungering after a better righteousness than that which he has thus far had, even the righteousness of Jesus Christ. In the evening he preached on 1 Cor. i, 23, 24. He had more than four thousand hearers, and spoke in such a way that all were amazed, never before having heard such doctrines from his lips. His first words were: "I sincerely consider myself unworthy to preach to you of the Crucified Jesus!"

In another letter Boehler says: "John Wesley returned to Oxford to-day. I accompanied him a short distance. He once more opened his whole heart to me, and I entreated him to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, for then not only he, but many others also with him, would be saved. He told me that he now found the grace of the Saviour everywhere in the Bible, and was convinced that Jesus is a Mighty Saviour, sufficient for sinners. I have a good hope that this friend of mine will become wholly the property of Jesus."

Wesley records the occasion in these few words: "Wednesday 26th, the day fixed for my return to Oxford, Peter Boehler walked with me a few miles, and exhorted me not to stop short of the grace of God." (Journal I, p. 66)

Soon after John Wesley had left London, opposition to the doctrines enunciated by Peter Boehler began to manifest itself among the clergy and others. The minister, in whose church Wesley had delivered his powerful sermon on the grace of Christ, was particularly exercised, and proposed preaching a discourse in refutation of what

had been said on that occasion. Boehler writes in one of his letters: "This man says that our doctrine of the assurance of the forgiveness of sins in the blood of Jesus, is a German heresy, calculated to drive men to despair. I rejoiced, from my heart, when I heard this, because I perceived that here in London, also, those tokens of enmity against God are given us which prove our testimony of Jesus Christ to be true. Help me to praise the Lord, that we are deemed worthy to be called heretics, and to suffer reproach for the sake of Jesus. It is reported that the German pastor here likewise preached against us last night."

Meanwhile Charles Wesley, who had come to London was taken ill a second time. Boehler called to see him. "He conversed with me," says a subsequent letter, "upon his faith. He knew, he said, that his views differed from mine, but he did not wish to dispute with me; his desire was that I would pray for him, that the Saviour might grant him the assurance of faith. I offered up a prayer, and he was deeply moved." John Wesley, having been informed that his brother had again been attacked by his old disease, hastened to the city. He says: "In the evening I found him at James Hutton's, better as to health than I expected; but strongly averse to what he called 'the new faith.'" (Journal I, p. 66). This was on the 12th of May (N. S.) That same evening, at the instance of Boehler, his English friends formed a society for prayer and mutual edification. Boehler relates this event as follows: "At nine o'clock in the evening I met the elder Wesley at Hutton's. He is now an inquirer, earnestly seeking grace. His heart is broken. May the Saviour speedily receive him into His arms of love! Such brethren had been invited to attend who are of one mind, in order to organize a class. Eleven persons, including John Wesley and Hutton, were present. I spoke to them upon the fellowship which the children of God ought to keep up. They received my words with joy, and it is their purpose to unite all the awakened in this manner. When this shall have been accomplished, they intend to form two classes, which are, however, to have a common meeting every four weeks. The Lamb that was slain for the scattered children of God, have mercy upon them!" Wesley says: "This evening our little society began, which afterward met in Fetter Lane." (Journal I, p. 66). He also sets forth the rules which were adopted.

On the following day Boehler took leave of his friends. With Charles Wesley he had "a long and particular conversation." "And it now pleased God to open his (C. Wesley's) eyes; so that he also saw clearly what was the nature of that one true living faith, whereby alone 'through grace we are saved.'" So says John Wesley in his Journal (I p. 67). Boehler writes: "The younger Wesley now also believes that he is a sinner, and seeks for grace in the merits of the Redeemer."

On the 15th of May Boehler left London. Wesley notices his departure in these words: "Peter Boehler left London in order to embark for Carolina. O what a work hath God begun since his coming into England! Such a one as shall never come to an end 'till heaven and earth pass away.'" (Journal I, p. 67). Ere sailing from Portsmouth, Boehler sent a farewell letter to Count Zinzendorf, in which he says: "I had another conversation, before my departure from London, with John Wesley, his brother Charles Wesley, and his brother-in-law Hall. The grace of God is operating powerfully upon them; the younger Wesley, however, is yet to be fully overcome. The elder brother has given way entirely to the divine influences, and his whole and only desire now is to *believe.* The Saviour has accomplished much!" To John Wesley he wrote a Latin letter of which we give Wesley's own translation. It is dated "Southampton Fields, May 8 (or May 19), 1738," and reads as follows:

Dearest and most courteous Brother:

I love you greatly, and think much of you in my journey, wishing and praying that the tender mercies of Jesus Christ the Crucified, whose bowels were moved toward you more than six thousand years ago, may be manifested to your soul: that you may taste and then see how exceedingly the Son of God has loved you, and loves you still; and that so you may continually trust in Him, and feel His life in yourself. Beware of the sin of unbelief; and if you have not conquered it yet, see that you conquer it this very day, through the blood of Jesus Christ. Delay not, I beseech you, to believe in *your* Jesus Christ; but so put Him in mind of His promises to poor sinners, that He may not be able to refrain from doing for you what He hath done for so many others. O how great, how inexpressible, how unexhausted is His love! Surely He is now ready to help; and nothing can offend Him but our unbelief. Believe therefore. Greet heartily in my name, your brother Charles and Hall, and exhort one another to believe, and then to walk *cir-*

cumspectly before the Lord, to fight *lawfully* against the devil and the world, and to crucify and tread all sin under our feet, as is our privilege through the grace of the second Adam, whose life exceeds the death of the first Adam, and whose grace excels the corruption and condemnation of the first Adam.

"The Lord bless you! Abide in faith, love, teaching the communion of saints; and, briefly, in all which we have in the New Testament.

I am your unworthy Brother,
PETER BOEHLER."

This letter expressed the fervent wishes of Boehler's heart on behalf of his friend. That this friend was to become the future founder of Methodism, which has worked out such great results in the Church and the world, he knew not. But, to some extent, he had divined the subsequent career of Wesley; and it may well be supposed, that, as the vessel which bore him across the Atlantic pursued its slow and weary way—for the voyage was a most tedious one—he often thought of the events which had transpired in England, and sent many an effectual prayer to God for him whom he had left there seeking Christ, and whom Christ had chosen and ordained to go and bring forth fruit, and a fruit which abides. Such prayers were heard. Three weeks after Boehler had left London, John Wesley's heart, while attending the meeting of a society in Aldersgate Street, was "strangely warmed:" "I felt," he says, "I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death." (Journal I, p. 74). In that hour Wesley was born again to be the apostle of Methodism.

But Boehler's thoughts were not only of the past. The work which he was called to do in the New World also engaged his mind. For weeks, until the middle of July, the ship passed from harbor to harbor along the coast of England, making scarcely any headway, and even after it was fairly out at sea, it was forced to bear for the Madeira Islands and to lie at anchor there ten long and irksome days. But Boehler and his friend Schulius, who accompanied him, patiently bore this delay. They spent the time in preparing for the mission which they were to undertake. "I dedicate myself anew to the Saviour," the former had written as he was about leaving London, "and do not hesitate; my trust is divine grace, in the strength of which I go to offer even to the negroes

that which gives us life." And now, in the daily intercourse with Him from whom all grace proceeds, and in the anticipation of what He might be pleased to accomplish among slaves and savages for the glory of His holy name, this tedious voyage seemed short. At last, after having spent one hundred and thirty-four days on shipboard, from May 18th to September 29th, the vessel reached St. Simonds, in Georgia.

As has been said in another connection, Peter Boehler was to be the Pastor of the Moravians at Savannah, and at the same time, to begin an enterprise among the slaves of South Carolina. In view of this latter undertaking George Schulius had been appointed his assistant. The project of preaching to the negroes seems to have originated with Gen. Oglethorpe, the Governor of the Georgia Colony, and the two Missionaries were engaged by him.

After waiting for several days at St. Simonds, they took passage in a sloop and coasted north toward Savannah. But the wind was so unfavorable, that they did not reach Savannah until the 15th of October.

Owing to the disturbances of which we wrote in the Section on Bishop Nitschmann, the Moravian settlement had dwindled to nine men and women, and three boys. These twelve souls constituted the church of which Boehler was to be the Pastor. The mission among the slaves proved not more hopeful. Gen. Oglethorpe had designated Purysburg, in South Carolina, a German settlement, founded in 1733, by John Peter Pury, as the proper place to begin the work. Boehler and Schulius went thither on the 23d of October, but were surprised to find scarcely three negroes in the town, and not one hundred in a circuit of twelve miles around. Hence they continued their journey and came to Port Royal Harbor.

There they met with a planter by the name of Mr. O'Bryan, who owned several hundred slaves. He received them with much hospitality, expressing a strong desire to have them remain and teach his negroes. But as they were merely on a journey of investigation, they could not accept this offer. From Port Royal they proceeded to Charleston. There lived in this city a Commissary of the Bishop of London. His name was the Rev. Mr. Gardener, and his duties consisted in superintending the interests of the Anglican Church in the Southern Colonies. The Missionaries called upon him, explained the project which they had in view, and were

assured that he would do all that lay in his power to aid them. They returned to Savannah to consult Gen. Oglethorpe, persuaded that they had found a more eligible field than Purysburg. To their chagrin, however, they were informed that the Governor had been at Savannah during their absence, seemed dissatisfied with their visit to Charleston, and persisted in his plan to have the Mission begun at Purysburg. Boehler considering himself bound to fulfil the engagement which had been made with Gen. Oglethorpe, concluded to go to Purysburg and labor there for a year, but then to continue the enterprise, independently of the Governor, wherever God might open a door of utterance. In January, 1739, he proceeded to Frederica, a village and fort upon St. Simond's Island, constructed by Gen. Oglethorpe, in 1736, and where he was then staying, and informed him of his intentions. In the following month (February), he and Schulius, accompanied by young David Zeisberger, took up their abode at Purysburg. Every Sunday they preached to the German inhabitants of the town, and in the week they visited the negroes of the vicinity, and instructed them in the gospel. But when the warm weather began, Boehler fell ill, and was brought to the brink of the grave. He had not yet recovered, when Schulius took sick and died. Amidst many privations, faithfully nursed by David Zeisberger, Boehler continued at his post until the growing difficulties in which his brethren at Savannah were involved, on account of the war with the Spaniards, constrained him to remove to that place. It soon became clear that it would be impossible for the Moravians, with their views upon the subject of bearing arms, to remain in the Colony; and so Boehler resolved to lead them to Pennsylvania. Their number had again been reduced. Peter Rose and his wife had left for that Province, on their own responsibility, Michael Haberland had taken his sister, the wife of John Toeltschig, to Europe, Schober had died, and Regnier had run away; so that only five men, one boy, and one woman remained.

Meanwhile, on New Year's day, 1740, George Whitefield arrived at Savannah, accompanied by William Seward and John Syms. Whitefield had heard much of Peter Boehler, and had interchanged several letters with him. He rejoiced to make his personal acquaintance, and the two men of God were soon on intimate terms. In the course of January, Boehler paid a second visit to Charleston.

He returned to Savannah on foot, visiting his acquaintances by the way. It was his full purpose eventually to come to South Carolina again, and renew the Mission among the negroes. This plan was never carried out. Several of his friends in this region, however, immigrated to Pennsylvania, joined the Moravian Church, and became active in its service. Among these John Brownfield, James Burnside, and Abraham Büninger, the latter of Purysburg, deserve to be mentioned. On the 13th of April, the Moravian party, accompanied by Whitefield, sailed from Savannah in his sloop, and reached Philadelphia on the 25th of April.

The mission to which Peter Boehler had been appointed in Georgia and South Carolina, and for the sake of which he had left his sphere of usefulness at the University of Jena, had therefore failed; and yet he did not go to America in vain, as the work which awaited him in Pennsylvania will show.

The Moravians were disappointed in not finding Bishop Nitschmann and Augustus Spangenberg, under whose direction they meant to put themselves. Both of them had returned to Europe. What should this remnant of the Georgia settlement undertake in Pennsylvania? They had no land, no money, no means of support. Their acquaintances at Germantown and elsewhere could, or would, not help them. Indeed, those who had deserted them in Georgia tried to persuade them to disperse, each one caring for himself, without any thought of the Church.

To Peter Boehler belongs the honor of having prevented this evil counsel from being accepted and of having kept together the handful of Brethren that now alone represented the Church in America. Moreover, he made their distressing situation the subject of special prayer, and asked God to provide at least a temporary means of support. This was the fervent effectual prayer of a righteous man, and availed much.

On the 5th of May, Whitefield visited him at the house of Christopher Wiegner, in Skippach, and proposed that the Moravians should build a school-house for him on the land which he had bought in the Forks of the Delaware. Boehler thankfully took this offer into consideration. Thereupon a public service was held, as "a multitude of people" had gathered from the neighborhood to hear the celebrated preacher. At the conclusion of Whitefield's discourse, Boehler addressed the assembly in "Dutch"—so says

William Seward, in his Journal.[1] On the following morning Boehler, Seifferth, and Henry Antes set out to explore Whitefield's land. They reached it on the 7th of May, and found a large Indian village in the vicinity.

Having returned to Philadelphia and reported to Whitefield, Boehler, in the name of his brethren, formally engaged to put up a school house. They were to perform the work, and he was to be their superintendent.

On the 27th of May, the Moravians left Germantown on foot, and three days later, came to Whitefield's tract. Their first act was one of worship. Sitting beneath a black oak tree, they returned thanks in the sweet hymns of their native land, for God's protection and loving care. The carols of birds mingled with their sacred melodies, and the young leaves, rustling in the wind, whispered a soft accompaniment. It was the evening sacrifice of the first congregation that worshiped the Lord at Nazareth. The oak about which they were gathered remained a land mark for many years. Boehler and Seifferth cut their initials in its bark. These initials, although nearly illegible, were still to be seen in 1799. The tree stood not far from the Rose Tavern. When it was cut down is not known.

Whitefield's commissioners having arrived, on the 29th of May, selected a site for the school house and marked off its dimensions. The Moravians first put up a log house for their own accommodation, which is still standing. Then they began Whitefield's building. But this work progressed very slowly. The edifice was to be of massive stone, and its plan was so extensive that it would have been a great undertaking even in the populous sections of Pennsylvania ; in a wilderness such as constituted its site difficulties of every kind presented themselves. Although the Moravians engaged other settlers to assist them, the month of September found only the walls of the cellar completed. In other respects, however, their forest life was a happy one. "We had," says Boehler, "a season which was blessed to our souls, in an extraordinary manner. The Saviour was near to us. We will not forget those days, as long as we live." Boehler was full of zeal and activity. Like Paul, he became all things to all men. He super-

[1] Gillies' Memoir of Whitefield, p. 36.

intended the carpenters, worked with them as much as he could, walked, every week, ten miles to the nearest mill and procured the necessaries of life, preached the Gospel to his brethren, and prayed with them day by day. In the whole course of his long career, as a Professor, Minister, and Bishop, there was no period in which his work set forth features so heroic, as when he cheered and consoled, enlivened and kept united, this little band of Moravians, in the face of the many discouragements which surrounded them.

In October, Andrew Eschenbach arrived from Europe and brought them the joyful intelligence that Bishop Nitschmann was on his way to Pennsylvania, and, in December, he reached their cabin. He informed Boehler that his services were needed in Europe. So he bade farewell to his brethren, with whom he had shared so many toils, proceeded to New York, and on the 29th of January, 1741, sailed for England. The vessel was old and leaky, but the voyage expeditious. In four weeks he reached Bristol, whence he hastened to Oxford to visit his friends. On the 8th of March he arrived in London.

During his absence a sad change had taken place in the relations of John Wesley and the Brethren in Fetter Lane. Differences and disputes prevailed. Some of the views entertained by Wesley were distasteful to the Moravians, and some of their doctrines constituted a grievous stumbling-block in his sight. We will not enter into a full account of the controversy. There were faults committed on both sides. That the premonitory symptoms of that fanatical spirit, which nearly ruined the Moravian Church, had begun to appear, and that many of the hymns of the Brethren were of an objectionable character, cannot be denied. Boehler, who had left England for Germany, but had turned back at the instance of Spangenberg, with whom he met in Holland, tried to heal the breach. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful. In the month of July, John Wesley formally withdrew from the Society in Fetter Lane. And, in September, when Count Zinzendorf arrived in England, he had with him that celebrated conversation, in Latin, which he has recorded in his Journal, and which tended to make his separation from the Moravians final. This conversation took place in Gray's Inn Walks, in London. Subsequently Wesley spoke and wrote of the Church in a very censorious and harsh manner. At the present day we recognize in these disputes a higher hand bringing good out of

evil. Each party had a mission of its own to perform, and each, after the separation, pursued this mission faithfully. Had there been no disturbance, Wesley and his friends might have, eventually, gone over to the Moravians, in which case Methodism would never have become a distinct organization. It is certain that John Wesley, when he was in Georgia, wanted to join the Moravian Church, and was dissuaded from doing so by Seifferth, who told him that God had given him a different calling in which he might become more useful. Forty-five years later, in 1783, when Wesley was an aged patriarch of four-score years, he met Seifferth at Zeist, in Holland, and reminded him of this advice; saying, that he had often thought of it, and that the experience of every day had proved its soundness.[1]

Boehler remained in England until the end of the year, and engaged in preaching, for the most part, as an assistant of Ingham, who labored in Yorkshire. It was for him a period of great activity. Transplanted from the forests of Pennsylvania to one of the most populous districts of England, he found a wide field of usefulness. The subject of religion was attracting universal attention, and the hunger of the people for the Word of God was so great, that Boehler ordinarily delivered more than twenty sermons every week. Often he had a thousand hearers; sometimes as many as four thousand. A large portion of those who subsequently formed the first Moravian churches of England were awakened at that time. But the season proved also to be one of grief and embarrassments to Boehler. This was caused not only by the controversy with Wesley, but especially by differences between himself and some of his own brethren, among whom Spangenberg is particularly mentioned. What it was that marred the harmony of feeling, does not appear from his manuscript autobiography, nor from any other sources within our reach. But that Boehler felt himself oppressed, and that the suspicions of Count Zinzendorf had been excited against him, is evident. When the Count arrived in England, he sent for Boehler; but the interview was not cordial. The former sailed to America; the latter, much against his will, was left in England. These disagreements must, however, have been settled in the course of the Autumn, for, in November, Boehler

[1] Holmes' History of United Brethren, I, pp. 313 and 314.

was appointed to lead to America a large body of Moravian immigrants, who were expected to arrive from Germany early in the following year.

Having several months of leisure before him, he resolved to go to Germany and visit his family at Frankfurt. He returned to England on January 29th, 1742, and on the 20th of February, was married in London, by Spangenberg, to Elizabeth Hopson. In the following month, the Moravian immigrants having meanwhile reached England, he sailed with them from Gravesend, (March 18th), in a vessel purchased by the Church. After having touched at Madeira, they reached New London, May 23d; thence they proceeded to New York, where Boehler landed and spent a day with his acquaintances; and then, going out to sea again, and rounding the Capes of Delaware Bay, they arrived at Philadelphia on the 7th of June, where they found Count Zinzendorf. On the voyage they organized themselves into what is known as the "First Sea Congregation." They numbered fifty-seven souls.

A few days after their arrival, the seventh of the Union Synods of Pennsylvania, inaugurated by Count Zinzendorf, began its sessions. It met in the house of Mr. Evans, at Philadelphia. To this body the immigrants sent a petition, asking to be acknowledged as a true, evangelical people, and to be received into spiritual union with the Synod. Boehler and several elders having been examined by the Synod, this request was granted. The German Moravians proceeded to Bethlehem; those from England remained in the city for a short time longer, and Boehler staid with them. He was commissioned to attend to the spiritual and material wants of the immigrants,and to preach the gospel wherever opportunities offered. Toward the end of September, he joined Count Zinzendorf at Oley, and formed one of the party which accompanied him on his last and most perilous tour to the Indian country, as far as Ostonwacken. There he took leave of the Count, proceeded to Frederick Township, Philadelphia County, and presided at the eighth Union Synod of Pennsylvania, which was held in the house of Henry Antes. The rest of the year he spent, partly at Philadelphia, and partly at Bethlehem. In January, of 1743, he accompanied Zinzendorf to New York, from which port the latter sailed to Europe on the 20th of that month. Boehler remained in the city for several weeks, proclaiming the gospel with great success. It was a time of

bigotry, and the Moravian preacher, who set forth free salvation in Christ and the forgiveness of sins through faith, suffered persecution. Several Presbyterian ministers, in particular, violently opposed him, and, at their instigation, he was summoned, on the 31st of January, before the Mayor and a Committee of six Aldermen. These wise magistrates examined him and came to the conclusion that he was a dangerous character, a papist—and papists were held in utter abhorrence in the Colony of New York—and must be banished from the city. Accordingly, in spite of his verbal and written protests, he was forced to leave New York. He returned to Bethlehem. There important duties awaited him.

Zinzendorf had appointed Boehler pastor of the church at Bethlehem, Syndic of the Pennsylvania Synod, and Superintendent of those Lutheran churches which were in charge of Moravian ministers. His Assistant was Anthony Seiffert. Bishop Nitschmann was the Superintendent of the Indian Missions. This whole arrangement, however, was a mere temporary one. Spangenberg had been designated as the head of the Church in America; Boehler was to remain only until Spangenberg's arrival from Europe. Nevertheless he filled out the short time of his stay with much work for God.

He attended to his pastorship at Bethlehem, paid two visits to the Indians at Shekomeko, itinerated in Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, preaching in Philadelphia, New York City, at Lancaster, Burlington, Trenton and many other places, and presided at six meetings of the Pennsylvania Synod, held in Philadelphia, at Mill Creek, in Berks County, at Bethlehem, and again in Philadelphia in 1743, and at Oley and Heidelberg, in Berks County, in 1744. Moreover he sent out evangelists to preach to such Lutheran and Reformed churches as were without ministers. It was a time of general activity among the Moravians. Their messengers of peace were continually on the way. That revilements and persecutions followed is not surprising. This has always been the case in the Church of God. When His ambassadors burn with zeal, the emissaries of Satan are roused. In this instance, however, not alone the carnally minded opposed the work of the Brethren; the sects, also, in Pennsylvania, and even some of the churches of that Province and of New York, arrayed themselves against them, and showed, on the one hand, an utter want of charity, and on the

other, a gross misconception of the cardinal truth of the Gospel. The Moravians were not blameless in the controversies which occurred, but that they suffered mainly because of the prominence which they gave to the efficacy of the Saviour's atonement, cannot be denied. Amidst the bigotry of the times and the dead orthodoxy of the Churches, they, like Paul, gloried only in the Cross, and like Paul, they found that the Cross is to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness.

Bishop Spangenberg arrived in America, in November, 1744, and Boehler, after having once more visited all the stations of the Brethren, sailed for Europe, from New York, on the 8th of April, 1745. The vessel was captured by a French privateer and taken to France. But Boehler was set at liberty, and by way of Havre, proceeded to Holland and thence to Germany, arriving at Marienborn on the 16th of June.

In the same year he visited England; then he was appointed Dean of the Theological Seminary; a few months later, however, he was again sent to England, where he labored until July of 1747, when he once more entered the Seminary at Marienborn. On the 10th of January, 1748, he was consecrated a Bishop, and immediately returned to England, where he superintended the Church for six years. It was a period of sore trials. Owing to the enormous expense of sending so many and such large bodies of immigrants to America, as well as to the cost of the Foreign Missions and of the British Moravian establishments, the finances of the Church were in a state of utter confusion, while the spirit which many of Boehler's brethren manifested, who were infected with the fanaticism of the Wetteravian churches, constituted an abomination in his sight. His autobiography shows how deeply he was bowed down. But God helped him to fulfil his duty fearlessly. To him belongs, at least in part, the honor of having saved the Church from its financial embarrassments and from the spiritual dangers that threatened its destruction.

In May, of 1753, Spangenberg unexpectedly arrived in England, and Bishop Boehler was asked to take his place in America for half a year. He sailed from Portsmouth, June 19th, in the *Irene*, reached New York on the 9th of September, and Bethlehem the 13th. He found many changes. The town had increased and the work of the Brethren extended. But the duties which awaited

him reproduced all the anxiety and trouble through which he had passed in England. In the American Province, too, financial distress prevailed, and its real estate, which had been mortgaged, stood in great danger of being sold. The holders of the mortgages had given notice, that they would foreclose them on the 1st of January, 1754, unless they were previously paid. Under such circumstances Bishop Boehler spent many a sleepless night, and prayed most earnestly for divine aid. His trust, as on so many other occasions of his life, was not put to shame. On the 23d of November he succeeded in effecting an arrangement with the creditors which saved the estates of the Church. And now he began to enjoy his visit. He made the round of the churches, went, once a month, to the Indian Mission at Gnadenhuetten, presided at two Synods—the one convened at Heidelberg, the other at Mt. Joy—and faithfully attended to all the other affairs of his office.

Soon after Easter, in 1754, Bishop Spangenberg came back and immediately resumed the superintendency of the Church. Boehler expected to return to Europe; but no invitation to this effect reached him, for what reason does not appear. He was deeply hurt, and fell into a state of mental depression which affected his health. In the course of the Summer he rallied; and went to the new tract of land purchased by the Moravians in North Carolina, where he organized the church at Bethabara. On his return he visited various parts of the Province, and in December took up his abode in New York City, officiating as the pastor of the church, until the Summer of the following year. Then he once more made the round of the churches, and attended a Synod held at Warwick, in Lancaster County. Soon after the adjournment of this Synod he received, at last, a letter from Zinzendorf, inviting him to come to Europe and take part in the approaching General Synod. He joyfully obeyed the summons. Ever since Spangenberg's return he had been without a position, and although he was willing to serve the Church in any capacity, it is evident that he met with many vexations, and that his relations to his brethren at Bethlehem were not always of a pleasant character.

He sailed for England on the 28th of August, and after a long and stormy voyage, landed at New Castle, in the beginning of November. On the 20th of December he reached Herrnhut, where he immediately had a long interview with Count Zinzendorf.

Bishop Boehler remained in Germany for six months, and then took his way for the fourth time to America. He had been appointed Vice-Superintendent of the American Province and Assistant of Bishop Spangenberg. He served in this capacity for eight years. In 1764 he finally left America and took part in the Synod called at Marienborn, after Zinzendorf's death, in order to frame a constitution for the Unitas Fratrum. Boehler was elected to the Directory; and in 1769, when the next constitutional Synod met, he was elected to the new Board which received the name of Unity's Elders' Conference. He discharged the responsible duties of this office for ten years, paying several official visits to England. On the occasion of the last of these visits he remained a year in that country, and then left it for a better country—a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens. The time of his return to Germany had already been fixed, when, on the 20th of April, 1774, as he was preparing to hold a service in the Chapel of Fetter Lane, he was stricken with paralysis and died a week later, on the 27th, in the sixty-third year of his age.

In that land where some of his greatest works were done to God's glory, the mortal remains of Bishop Peter Boehler await the resurrection of the just.

A son, named Lewis Frederick Boehler, entered the ministry and served the American Province for many years at Lancaster, Hope (N. J.), York and Emmaus. He died at Bethlehem on the 30th of June, 1815. His daughter, and therefore the granddaughter of the Bishop, was the late Miss Frederica Boehler, whom many of our readers will recollect, and who died in the Sisters' House at Bethlehem, after having been active among her sex in various Moravian churches. A brother of the Bishop, Francis Boehler, was likewise in the service of the American Province, and died at Lititz in 18[illegible]6.

SECTION VI.

NATHANIEL SEIDEL,

BISHOP OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

The early history of the Church in this country brings to our notice theologians of ripe scholarship and distinguished talents, graduates of European Universities, and in some instances former Professors at such seats of learning, who accommodated themselves with wonderful facility to the circumstances of the New World, and were made all things to all men, that they might by all means save some. But that same history points out other fathers who were not classically educated and never studied theology, and yet became leaders of the Church, because they had received the gift of the Holy Ghost and labored for Christ with a zeal, a self-sacrificing endurance and a singleness of heart, that we, of the present generation, will do well to imitate. To this number belongs Nathaniel Seidel, the cloth-weaver, the itinerant Missionary, the Bishop, and the President, for twenty years, of the American Provincial Board.

He was born at Lauban, in Lower Silesia, on the 2d of October, 1718. His paternal ancestors were Bohemian Protestants, who had fled from their native country for the sake of religious liberty. They were, however, not connected with the Bohemian Brethren. The Lutheran minister who baptized him sent a letter to his mother, immediately after the ceremony, begging her to train him with particular care. He said that, in the act of baptism, he had become persuaded that God had chosen her son for important work in His Kingdom. This made a deep impression on her heart, and she

often took little Nathaniel into her own room and prayed for him with all a mother's love and fervency. His own heart was touched. He learned to love those private devotions, and to pray for himself with childlike faith. As he grew up it appeared that he was inclined to levity, and not unfrequently fell in with bad company which led him astray. But he could never shake off the impressions of his childhood, and was convicted of sin as often as he committed it. Having learned his father's trade of cloth-weaving, he set out, as is the custom of young journeymen in Germany, on travels through the country, working at his business in different towns and cities. He had reached his seventeenth year, and was determined to live to God. His pleasant address and happy disposition secured him friends wherever he came. Better than all, however, his Heavenly Father was with him and delivered him from the temptations that beset his way. After an absence of three and a half years he returned to his home more anxious than ever to devote his life to Christ. This was the time of his visitation. The Holy Spirit began a work in his heart such as he had never before known, and brought him, at last, to a personal apprehension of pardoning and sanctifying grace. He found Jesus as his Saviour and rejoiced in Him.

Lauban is only half a day's journey from Herrnhut. Hence the godly character of this settlement was well known. Seidel had often heard of it, and determined to seek this retreat. His mother dissuaded him, until an officer with a squad of men arrived in order to impress him into the army. Then she urged his flight to Herrnhut. On the way another officer arrested him. One of the command, however, proved to be a friend of his, and through this man's intercessions he was allowed to proceed. He reached Herrnhut on his twenty-first birthday.

He soon joined the Church, and although he found it hard to gain a livelihood, and often lived on bread and water, his soul was full of peace. He was particularly edified by the discourses of Bishop John de Watteville, and sought his personal acquaintance. De Watteville, on his part, esteemed Seidel very highly, and it was no doubt through his influence that the latter was appointed the overseer of the young men, or single brethren, at the Herrnhaag.

At that time the enterprise which the Brethren were inaugurating in Pennsylvania attracted general attention in their European settle-

ments, and Seidel secretly longed to go to the New World and take part in the work of its evangelization. His satisfaction was, therefore, great, when Count Zinzendorf sent him and a number of his companions an invitation to emigrate.

They formed a part of the "First Sea Congregation," spoken of in the Section on Peter Boehler. Seidel at once found a wide field of labor in America. He was constituted overseer of the young men at Bethlehem, and also sent to the Indians and white settlers to preach the Gospel. This latter work gradually absorbed all his time. He became the most indefatigable of the early Moravian evangelists who traversed the country. His life was an almost uninterrupted succession of journeys. The first which he undertook was a visit to the Indians of the Susquehanna, in the Summer of 1743. Then followed itinerancies in New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. In February, of 1746, he was formally appointed "Elder of the Pilgrims," that is, Superintendent of the many evangelists whom the Church employed. This position forced him to travel still more constantly. During the next three years he repeatedly passed through Pennsylvania as far West as Shamokin, through the Eastern Counties of New York, through New England as far as Boston, and went South as far as Manakosy, in Maryland. All these journeys were performed on foot, and everywhere he proclaimed the unsearchable riches of Christ, both in public discourses and private conversations. On the 27th of October, 1748, he was ordained a Presbyter, by Bishop de Watteville.

He now had a brief season of rest, inasmuch as he was put at the head of a body of twenty-two young men, who established themselves at Christiansbrunn, near Nazareth. There he remained for seven months, and then went to Europe to report to Count Zinzendorf the progress of the work in America. In company of David Zeisberger, he set sail in the *Irene*, on the first of September, 1750. On the morning of the 20th a tremendous hurricane struck the vessel, and raged for a day and a night. The masts were carried away and most of the rigging was lost. Two days later a Danish merchantman hove in sight, and afforded such assistance as enabled Captain Garrison, the well-known commander of the *Irene*, to put up jury-masts and proceed on the voyage. But it was not until the 14th of November that he reached Portsmouth. Seidel traveled to Herrnhut by way of London and Holland. He

remained in Germany for half a year visiting the various Moravian settlements, and then returned to America, again in the *Irene*, arriving at Bethlehem on the 28th of September, 1751. Here his itinerant labors were resumed, and carried on in the same way as before, until the Spring of 1753, when he was sent on a visit to the Mission in the West Indies.

The Church had established a flourishing Mission in the Danish Islands, and he was commissioned to examine into its character and prospects, and report to Count Zinzendorf as well as to the Provincial Board at Bethlehem, at the head of which stood Bishop Spangenberg This Board, at that time, had the immediate control of the work in the Danish Islands.

As the vessel, in which Seidel sailed from New York, approached the shores of St. Croix, he took the Text Book, and, with a child-like prayer for a word of encouragement, opened the following passage: "Go in peace," (Luke 7, 50). This text cheered his heart, and he landed, on the 18th of May, ready to spend and be spent in his Master's service. His visit was crowned with success. He baptized nine converts, administered the Lord's Supper to eighty communicants, inaugurated the erection of a larger chapel, and visited the negroes from hut to hut. They were particularly delighted with the salutations which he brought from the Christian Indians of Pennsylvania, and with a letter addressed to them by Bishop Spangenberg. From St. Croix, Seidel proceeded to St. Thomas, where he baptized thirty-one converts on Whit-Sunday, and celebrated the communion with three hundred and three. Next he sailed to St. Jan. On this Island no regular Mission had, as yet, been established. He held daily religious services, which were attended by more than two hundred negroes, who earnestly petitioned for a resident Missionary. This wish was fulfilled in the following year. The report which Seidel brought to the Church at home was of the most encouraging character, and induced the Mission Board to make every effort to extend the work in the Danish Islands. He returned to Bethlehem on the 23d of August.

Another undertaking awaited him. Zinzendorf had purchased nearly ninety-nine thousand acres of land amidst the wilds of North Carolina. On this tract a settlement was now to be begun, and Seidel, the bold itinerant of the Northern Colonies, was appointed

to lead to the South the first body of Moravian settlers. It consisted of thirteen young men. They set out from Bethlehem on the 8th of October, with a wagon drawn by six horses and containing provisions, as also implements of house-keeping and husbandry. The immigrants themselves traveled on foot. At night they pitched a tent. Those who could not find room in it slept in the wagon. Their route lay through Western Virginia, by way of Winchester and Staunton. They crossed the Blue Ridge at Evan's Gap, after many hardships, and after having been obliged to partly unload the wagon, and carry some of the articles it contained up the steepest ascents. On the 13th of November they reached the northern line of North Carolina, and, on the 17th, the site of what is now the village of Bethabara. Their journey occupied forty days. At present, it is easily accomplished in as many hours. A small cabin, which a German settler had vacated, afforded them shelter; and here, a few days after their arrival, Seidel administered the Lord's Supper to his brethren. Having spent a month in assisting them to enlarge the cabin and clear the land, he took his way back to Bethlehem, in Midwinter, and arrived on the 19th of January, 1754. The new year was again devoted to missionary tours in Pennsylvania and New York; but, in the Spring of 1755, duty called him, once more, to a far distant land.

The Governor of Surinam, in South America, had offered the Moravians land in his colony, for the purpose of renewing their Mission, which had been abandoned in 1745. Seidel was sent to select sites along the Corentyn and the Sarameca Rivers. Abraham Boemper and Lewis Huebner accompanied him on this perilous expedition. They sailed from Rhode Island to Barbados, and thence to Surinam, where they found that illustrious apostle of the Arawack Indians, Theophilus Solomon Schuman, waiting in simple faith for the resuscitation of the missionary work which he had so boldly inaugurated. Amidst frequent perils by land and sea, Seidel accomplished the object of his visit, and returned to Bethlehem on the 19th of November of the same year.

The French and Indian War had broken out during his absence, and it was impossible for him to itinerate as widely as he wished. Nevertheless, making Christiansbrunn his starting-point, he did what he could as a travelling evangelist. On one occasion, while on his way to Bethlehem, in September of 1756, he espied two

Indian warriors watching for him behind a tree. Turning abruptly into the forest, he ran for his life, hotly pursued by the savages. He ran from side to side, for a long time, in order to prevent their finding his trail, and then lay down beneath a tree, utterly exhausted. The Indians failed to discover him, and he got back to Christiansbrunn in safety.

In 1757, after having assisted to lay out the town of Lititz, he sailed, for the second time, to Europe. There he met Count Zindorf, and traveled with him through Switzerland, preaching the gospel. On their return to Herrnhut, Seidel was consecrated a Bishop of the Unitas Fratrum, on the 12th of May, 1758, by Bishops Zinzendorf, John de Watteville, and Leonard Dober.

Dedicating his life anew to the great Head of the Church, who had designated him for so high a trust, he went out, in the beginning of the next year (1759), on a second visit to the West Indian Missions. His health was not good at the time, but that did not hinder him. He grew very ill when at Portsmouth, the port of embarkation, but that did not keep him back. On the contrary, he set sail, in the name of the Lord, and reached Barbados on the 10th of March. The next eight months he devoted to a thorough visitation of that Island, as also of St. Thomas, St. Jan, St. Croix, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher and Jamaica, preaching to the negroes, comforting the Missionaries, and inaugurating new enterprises. The voyage back to England was full of dangers and escapes. For four weeks the vessel lay at anchor, first off San Domingo and then off Cuba; four times it experienced terrible storms; twice it was chased by French privateers, and once it was in the act of foundering, so that its deliverance seemed a miracle to all on board. It was not until after three long and weary months that the sorely tried Bishop saw England again. In March, of 1760, he reported to Zinzendorf and his coadjutors at Herrnhut.

But the constant journeys and many hardships of the past years began to tell upon Seidel's constitution. It soon appeared that he was suffering from a very dangerous fistula, and that nothing but an operation could save his life. He submitted to this painful necessity, and, under God, was cured by Doctors Roller and Betschler, two skillful surgeons of the Moravian Church.

Meanwhile Count Zinzendorf had died, and the men who united at Herrnhut as a temporary Council, in order to direct the Church

until a General Synod could be convened, had invited Bishop Spangenberg to come to Germany and join in their deliberations. Hence Bishop Seidel was appointed to take his place as President of the Provincial Board in America. This was a responsible and important position, especially in view of the abrogation, which had been decided upon, of the system known as the "Economy." In reliance upon that Lord who had blessed his work in the past, and whose call he had never refused to hear, he accepted the appointment. He had been married, some time previously, to Anna Joanna Pietsch, a niece of the well-known Anna Nitschmann.

Accompanied by Frederick William de Marshall, who was to be his assistant, Seidel and his wife set out for America, and reached Bethlehem in October, of 1761. Here he began the work with courage and zeal; making the necessary financial and municipal changes at Bethlehem and Nazareth; visiting the city and country churches, and presiding over the Province in so judicious and able a way that both its temporal and spiritual interests were furthered. He was constituted the nominal Proprietor of the real estate belonging to the Church; and, in this capacity, purchased of Samuel Green, in New Jersey, a tract of land for a new settlement, to be organized according to the exclusive system of other Moravian towns. This place subsequently received the name of Hope. That it proved a failure, and had to be relinquished in the beginning of the next century, was not the fault of Seidel. He carried out the principles which, at that time, prevailed among his brethren, and by which they honestly had in view the glory of the Lord. In 1768, he convened the Thirtieth Provincial Synod at Lititz, preparatory to the Eighteenth General Synod, and was elected the delegate of the American Province to this latter body. Its deliberations, as is well known, led to the adoption of that constitution for the Unitas Fratrum which, in its main features, still exists. Seidel took an active part in framing this constitution, and then spent several months in the North of England, visiting the churches.

After his return to America, in May of 1770, he traveled through the Province, explaining the new constitution. The work among the Indians enlisted his particular sympathy. His last visit to them was undertaken in 1771, in company with Christian Gregor and John Loretz, who had come from Europe as representatives of the Executive Board. They proceeded to Friedenshütten, in Brad-

ford County, Pennsylvania, and proposed to the converts to emigrate to Ohio. This proposal was accepted, and led to a most encouraging development of the Indian Mission in the Tuscarawas Valley. Seidel's heart was filled with ever growing joy, as reports from Zeisberger and other Missionaries came in, telling of the power of the Gospel among the aborigines, and of the many notorious savages who had been converted to God.

But a time of heavy trial was at hand. The Revolutionary War brought on distressing complications in the Church. Differences of opinion prevailed among its members with regard to that struggle; conscriptions to fill up the ranks of the militia were frequent; military hospitals were established both at Bethlehem and Lititz, while at Hebron, in Lebanon County, the Moravian chapel was turned into a prison for the Hessians captured at the battle of Trenton; and, worse than all, a carnal spirit began to show itself among some of the young people of the Church. These and other similar experiences rendered Seidel's position arduous and trying in the highest degree. To add to his troubles, his health commenced failing. At his earnest request, Bishop John F. Reichel, of the Executive Board in Germany, came to visit the American Province, in 1779, and labored with him for nearly two years. Seidel longed, at this time, to retire from active service, and resign his duties into younger hands. He felt that his strength of body was waning, and that his strength of mind was not adequate to the crisis. But the entreaties of his brethren, and the lack of a sufficiency of ministers in the American Church, induced him to persevere, trusting in the power of Christ. When, however, the news reached him of the massacre of the Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, in the Spring of 1782, his heart failed him, and he mourned as one that refused to be comforted. The atrocity of the deed appalled his spirit, and the influence which it would have upon the Mission, that had so long been the glory of the Church, filled him with most gloomy forebodings. His health grew worse. Boils and running sores, brought on by his journeys on foot in former years, and the hardships to which he had been exposed, began to break out in many parts of his body, and caused him much discomfort and pain.

On the 6th of May, 1782, he convened the Board, of which he was President, for the last time. In the course of the sitting, he expressed his deep sorrow that a worldly spirit was manifesting

itself among some of the young people of the Church, and entreated his colleagues to help him watch more faithfully over the discipline, and guard the settlements of the Brethren more carefully against evil in every form. At the close of the conference, he fell upon his knees, and offered up a prayer full of holy faith and zeal. He besought the Lord to forgive him and his brethren for their remissness in watching over the Church, and prayed that grace might be granted them to lead personally such lives, and to set individually such an example, as would convince insincere members that they were associated with a converted and sanctified people, and that their lives must be ordered accordingly.

This was the last official act of Bishop Seidel; the close of his long and faithful career as an itinerant evangelist and as a Bishop. He now mostly kept his room. On the 17th of May he sank rapidly, and soon became unconscious. At half-past three o'clock, in the afternoon, he entered into the joy of his Lord. His age was sixty-three years, forty of which he had spent in the work of the ministry.

In the official record of his death, we find the following testimony with regard to the character and labors of this man of God: "His faithful service of forty years in this Province, his humble walk and conversation, his friendly ways, his love to the brethren, his unwearied diligence, but especially that saving and sanctifying impression of Christ's sufferings and death which filled his heart, and the earnestness with which he contended for the doctrine of the Cross, that it might continue pre-eminent among us to the end of days—all these things won for him the esteem of the Church, and rendered his episcopate precious and excellent. His memory will live in all our churches in this country, in the West Indies, and in the midst of the Indians of North and South America."

SECTION VII.

Francis C. Lembke, Ph.M.

Francis Christian Lembke was born in the village of Blansingen, in Baden, on the 13th of July, 1704. His father was the parish minister; his mother a converted Jewess, who, at her own earnest request, had been baptized when she was a child of but eight years. The former seems to have been a preacher of some note, for he was subsequently called to Durlach, the residence of the Margrave of Baden, where he officiated as Senior Minister of the principal church of that city. He died in 1710, when his son Francis was but six years old, leaving ten children unprovided for. But God raised up many friends, who took an active interest in their welfare. Francis was sent first to the Gymnasium at Durlach, and then to the *Collegium Wilhelmitanum* at Strasbourg. He applied himself with such diligence to his studies, and made such rapid progress in them that he was admitted to the University in his seventeenth year. Four years later, he took the degree of *Magister Philosophiæ*. But he was not satisfied with this distinction. He thirsted for more knowledge. To become one of the most learned men of his age was the ambitious goal which he set up for himself. Hence he devoted all his energies to a further study of the classics, and especially of philosophy. His zeal and acquirements soon attracted the attention of the Trustees of the University. He was looked upon as a candidate for a Professor's chair, and, in 1733, was sent to Jena in order to enjoy the advantages of that seat of learning. God overruled this visit to the good of his soul, and brought him

by a way that he knew not, and led him in paths that he had not known.

Lembke came to Jena little better than a skeptic. In the pride of his own intellect, and amidst the mazes of his philosophical studies, he worshiped reason, and not his Maker, much less his Redeemer. But, suddenly, he was plunged into a strange state of restlessness and well-nigh of imbecility. He could not study, he could not read, he could not think. His faculties seemed to be asleep, and yet his mind was in a whirl. This continued for four or five weeks, during which the image of Nebuchadnezzar, stricken with madness, on account of his pride, and dwelling with the beasts of the field, rose up before him, again and again, and filled him with fear. At last, in the agony of his soul, he began to pray for mercy. This gave him a new direction, so that he could resume his studies, but his heart found no peace. A fellow-student, who knew of his state, induced him to attend the private religious services which Magister Brumhardt held on Sunday evenings, in his own house. But the mixed assembly of students and mechanics, as well as the Pietistic character of the prayers and the addresses, so disgusted Lembke that he ran out of the house long before the meeting closed. After the expiration of a month, however, he came again, with the intention of holding out until the assembly should be dismissed, no matter what strange doctrines might be advanced. Instead of being anew disgusted, he was deeply impressed, sought the personal acquaintance of Brumhardt, and was introduced to a circle of converted students. Through their influence, he now began to seek Christ with many prayers and tears. All the ambitious projects of his life had dwindled away, and left but the one great purpose of gaining a personal interest in the Saviour of the world. Nor did the promise remain unfulfilled. Lembke sought and found. One evening, while praying, he realized, through the Holy Spirit, that the blood of Jesus Christ had cleansed him from all sin, and rose from his knees accepted in the Beloved.

Soon after this experience he traveled to Halle and Ebersdorf, where he became acquainted with the Moravian Brethren. On the occasion of Count Zinzendorf's visit to Jena, he learned to know them still better, and gladly joined one of the "classes" which Martin Dober, from Herrnhut, subsequently organized among some of the students, at their own request. These classes, as is well

known, proved to be of the utmost importance to the Moravian Church, inasmuch as they supplied it with not a few divines whose learning and devotedness to Christ were a power in its hands.

In 1735, Lembke was recalled to Strasbourg, as Professor in the Gymnasium, and Assistant Preacher in the church of St. Peter. His associations with the Pietistic circles at Jena and with the Moravian Brethren had become known, and he soon perceived that the so-called orthodox party looked upon him with suspicion. Nevertheless he began his work, in reliance upon the grace of God, and with the intention of furthering His glory. His duties as a preacher, however, grew very onerous. The more he prepared for his sermons the less warmth and life they had. Of this he was himself keenly conscious. His congregations decreased every Sunday, until at last he preached almost to empty benches. He felt that he was not fitted for the pulpit; and on one occasion became so utterly discouraged while preparing, that he secured a substitute for the next day, late on Saturday night. He now made his preaching the subject of special prayer, beseeching the Lord either to relieve him of this duty, or to loose his tongue and give him grace to proclaim the Gospel. The wonderful answer to these prayers we will set forth in Lembke's own words. "One day," he says, "when I entered the pulpit in great fear, crying for aid, the Lord suddenly spoke to me His omnipotent word *Ephphatha!* Pentecostal power was given to me, and to the astonishment of my hearers as well as to my own, I proclaimed the free grace of God in Christ with an overflowing heart and the utmost freedom of speech." From that day he preached sermons that caused a sensation throughout the city. The church of St. Peter was crowded, whenever he appeared in the pulpit. In a little while, the aisles and even the pulpit steps were filled with hearers, until the building could not contain the multitude which flocked together.

Envy, ill-will, and persecutions, on the part of the orthodox clergy, soon followed. He was cited before the Consistory, accused of being a disciple of Zinzendorf, and commanded to sign a document pledging himself to withdraw from all fellowship with the Moravians. This he refused to do; whereupon he was forbidden to preach. Not satisfied with this, his enemies tried to deprive him of his professorship, but his colleagues rose in a body in his defence,

and the attempt failed. He married soon after, and continued to teach with zeal and great success.

His heart, however, longed for a closer union with the Brethren. The circles in which he moved could not satisfy his hunger and thirst after righteousness. In 1743, his wife died, and he now determined to join the Brethren, with whom he had kept up a regular correspondence. Three years elapsed before he could carry out this purpose. At last, however, the way was open. He resigned his professorship, left Strasbourg, and arrived at Herrnhaag, in the beginning of the year 1746, where he was cordially welcomed by Zinzendorf and his coadjutors.

The next nine years he spent in Germany and England, serving the Church in various capacities. In 1749, he was ordained a Deacon in the Fetter Lane Chapel, in London.

The field of activity, however, to which God had specially called him was America. In the year 1754, he received an appointment as Pastor of the church at Nazareth, and accepted this vocation with great joy. He sailed to America in the ship *Irene*, and arrived at Bethlehem, in company of Bishop Spangenberg, on the 20th of April. On the 18th of May, 1755, he was ordained a Presbyter by Bishop Boehler. For a short time he labored at Warwick. After that, he devoted all his energy to the work at Nazareth, and to those other duties which it involved.

He preached with demonstration of power and of the Spirit; he endeavored to care for each single soul with patient love; his lips overflowed with the joy of a sanctified heart, and exalted the grace of Christ as the chief blessing of human life; his great hope and aim were that, throughout all generations, Nazareth might be a city set on a hill, which could not be hid.

In May, 1755, he assisted at the laying of the corner-stone of Nazareth Hall, and drew up a lengthy document, in Latin, which was deposited in the stone. Four years later, a school for Moravian boys was opened in the Hall (1759), and of this School Lembke was appointed Director, in 1763. He accordingly took up his residence in the building, and used his talents and experience as a teacher with great success. The school continued in operation for sixteen years, and at one time counted 106 pupils. It trained a number of assistants in the ministry. Owing to various circumstances, chiefly financial in their character, it was given up in 1779,

to the sorrow of Lembke, who deemed such an institution of great importance for the prosperity of the American Moravian Church. It afforded him, therefore, no little satisfaction to hear, but a short while before his death, of the proposed renewal of the School. This renewal had been decided upon by the General Synod of 1782, and was carried out by Bishop John de Watteville, in conjunction with the Provincial Board, in 1785. The undertaking was crowned with permanent success. In nearly every part of the United States there are alumni of Nazareth Hall, who remember their *Alma Mater* with joy and gratitude.

After a service of thirty years at Nazareth, and after having, for fourteen years, been a member of the Provincial Board at Bethlehem, whose sittings he attended as often as possible, Lembke, in 1784, resigned his various offices, left Nazareth Hall, where he had continued living, and took up his abode at Old Nazareth. He had reached four-score years, but he still did what he could to the glory of Christ, and officiated as "House-Liturgus," or leader of the religious services which were daily held in that little settlement. In the Summer of 1785, his strength failed rapidly. He remained conscious to the last, exalting Christ's grace, and receiving his brethren of the ministry, as well as others, who came to visit him, with a sort of triumphant joy that foretold his speedy entrance into the glories of heaven. On the 10th of July, he partook of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and then lay waiting for the Master. He had no pain, but passed away like a patriarch of old, on the following day, aged almost 81 years. The world did not ring with Lembke's name, as he once hoped that it would ring, but the works which he did in the Church won for him a far nobler fame, and were rewarded with an eternal inheritance. For "they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever."

We know of no descendants of Lembke.

SECTION VIII.

JOHN MARTIN MACK,

BISHOP OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

John Martin Mack was born on the 13th of April, 1715, at Leysingen, in Würtemberg. His parents belonged to the Lutheran Church. When he was eighteen years of age, he was awakened by a sermon which the Rev. George Waiblinger, A.M., the Vicar of the parish, preached, and began to mourn over his sins with deep contrition of heart. A contemplation of the merits of Christ comforted him, but he did not obtain that positive assurance for which his soul longed.

Waiblinger was a warm friend of the Moravian Church, which he subsequently joined, and of which he became a distinguished Bishop. He told Mack of the colony which the Brethren had founded at Herrnhut, and encouraged him to settle there. Mack followed this suggestion, and arrived at Herrnhut on the Eve of Christmas, 1734. But this was not to be his home. God had appointed him to a wide field, in a distant land, and in the New World.

It was a period of anxiety at Herrnhut. Whether the Saxon Government would permit the Moravian Brethren to remain there seemed doubtful. Accordingly Count Zinzendorf looked for other retreats. His attention had been attracted to Georgia by the Schwenckfelders who lived on his estate, and whom the Government had ordered to leave the country. These religionists asked his assistance in procuring land in that new Colony. Subsequently

however, they changed their mind and emigrated to Pennsylvania. Thereupon he applied to the Trustees of Georgia for a grant of land to be settled by Moravians. In the Section on Bishop Nitschmann we have spoken of the success of this application, and of the two bodies of Moravians who went out to Georgia. To the second, led by the Bishop, belonged young Mack, transferred, he scarcely knew how, to the wilds of America, seeing nothing but what was new and strange, his mind confused, groping for light, and yet walking in darkness. All those impressions of God's love which he had received before coming to Herrnhut were wiped out. He recognized his sinfulness but found no peace. He feared that he had trodden under foot the Son of God, and often wished that he had never been born. In this miserable state he remained for three years.

Then Peter Boehler arrived (1738), and his testimony to the cleansing and sanctifying power of the blood of Christ proved the message of peace to Mack's heart. He believed and rejoiced in God his Saviour. In the following year he assisted Boehler, for a time, at Purysburg, and on the 18th of October, was formally received into the fellowship of the Moravian Church. He now devoted himself, with energy and zeal, to the work of the settlement; and when it was broken up, he was one of the seven Moravians who remained faithful to their Church. Nor did he fail to unite with his brethren in building the Whitefield House at Nazareth.

Bishop Nitschmann having arrived from Europe, commissioned to found a Moravian settlement, Mack was one of those who shouldered their axes and began to clear the site for the town of Bethlehem. Indeed, he helped to cut down the first tree. This fact he mentions particularly in his autobiography. At Christmas of 1741 he was present when, at ten o'clock at night, in the cabin which had been erected, Count Zinzendorf led the way into that part of it which constituted the stable, followed by all the settlers, and sang with deep emotion, "Nicht Jerusalem, sondern Bethlehem, aus dir kommet, was mir frommet, &c." "The impression," writes Mack, "which I received at that moment has never passed away, and will remain until my last end."

Mack was now twenty-seven years of age, and devoted himself to the interests of the settlement at Bethlehem with all the energy of early manhood. But he was to be more than a woodman in its

forests, or a laborer in its plantations. The Lord said of him as He said of St. Paul: "He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles." From this time forth until his death, a period of forty-two years, Mack proclaimed the Gospel to the Indians of North America and to the slaves of the West Indies. And God blessed his work to the good of many souls.

The immediate preparation for it was his visit to the first so-called "Pennsylvania Synod," which convened at Germantown, on the 12th of January, 1742. There he met with representatives of all the German religious denominations of Pennsylvania. Although some of them entertained views to which he could not subscribe, the fellowship of so many Christians of different names—a type of the present Evangelical Alliance—cheered his heart, and the discussions in which they engaged taught him to prize the Holy Scriptures, more than ever, as the only rule of faith and practice. "I conceived anew," he says, "an extraordinary taste for them; they were a real balm to my soul."

In the following month he was appointed Assistant Missionary at Shekomeko, in New York. There Rauch was doing a great work among a debased clan of Mohicans. A number of them had been won from their wild and besotted ways, and were glorifying Christ by the consistency of their Christian lives. The first four converts had just been baptized. One of these was John, the notorious chief, regarded by the settlers as the worst Indian they had ever known or heard of, now the illustrious confessor of the Gospel, urging its claims upon his countrymen with all the native eloquence of his race, and exemplifying its power in his whole walk and conversation.

Mack was overwhelmed with confusion when called to enter this field of labor. He rejoiced at the thought of serving Christ, but he deemed himself unworthy of such a vocation and insufficient to fulfill its responsibilities. "Lord Jesus, is it possible that Thou meanest to employ *me* in such a service?" This was the question which continually rose up in his heart. A struggle ensued, in which faith prevailed. He was strengthened to believe that the Lord, who had called him into His vineyard, would give him grace and wisdom to perform the work. Such humility and trust were the secret of Mack's success throughout his long and honorable career. He was always willing, indeed, he always strove to decrease

that the Lord might increase. Therefore his labors were owned of Him to whom he gave all the glory.

In the beginning of March, Mack arrived at Shekomeko, and was soon deeply interested in the Mission. His heart yearned over the Indians, and they learned to love and trust him. A few months later, Count Zinzendorf and his daughter, the Countess Benigna, came to Shekomeko, where they spent a week in joyful fellowship with the converts. Before leaving, Zinzendorf organized the first Moravian Mission Church among the Indians, consisting of ten communicants, whom he describes in the following characteristic terms: "They are incomparable Indians, true men of God among their tribe, and form a conference which we often attended with astonishment."

Not far from Shekomeko lay the homestead of a German settler, named John Rau. He had received Rauch into his family, when the Mission was inaugurated, although, at the same time, he had denounced the idea of preaching the Gospel to the Indians as a wild and preposterous scheme. This Rau had a daughter, Joanna, a pious young woman, energetic, and of great decision of character. She had, moreover, made herself acquainted with the Mohican language, and was familiar with some of its cognate dialects. No one could have been more suitable as a Missionary's wife. Mack made her an offer of marriage, and was accepted. They both accompanied Zinzendorf to Bethlehem, where they were married on the 14th of September.

About a fortnight later, they and several other Moravians formed the escort of the Count on a long and perilous journey into the Indian country. They first proceeded to Shamokin, where they spent some days, and then to the Valley of Wyoming. The other members of the party were Mack's wife, Anna Nitschmann, and Andrew Montour. The last named was a son of Carondowa, an Iroquois chief, and of Madame Montour, a French woman. Carondowa fell in a battle with the Catawbas, and his widow was living at Ostonwacken, now Montoursville, on the West Branch of the Susquehanna, in Lycoming County, Pennsylvania. Andrew Montour was a noted chief in colonial times and a true friend of Great Britain. He had consented to guide Zinzendorf to Wyoming. No white man had ever before visited that region. The hardships of the trail were almost insurmountable. After four days of toil

and dangers, the party reached the plains of Skehantowanno, and encamped near a village of Shawnese, who inhabited the valley jointly with the Mohicans. There Zinzendorf and his companions spent three weeks, enduring hunger and the ill-will of the savages. Joanna Mack's familiarity with the Mohican tribe and her knowledge of its tongue, at last, won the heart of a Mohican squaw, who furnished corn-bread, until the arrival of supplies from Bethlehem. The attempt which was subsequently made by the Shawnese to murder Zinzendorf was frustrated by the unexpected appearance among them of Conrad Weiser, the Government Agent.

Mack's connection with this exploratory tour was important in two ways. In the first place, it helped to prepare him for the arduous work in which he subsequently engaged among the aborigines, made him ready to endure privations in any form, and filled him with a courage which was undaunted. Moreover, when he saw Zinzendorf's enthusiasm in trying to convert the savages of the valley, he was fired with zeal to spend and be spent in the same glorious cause. In the second place, he may very properly be called the only authentic historian of the expedition. After Zinzendorf's death in 1760, he wrote an account of their visit to Wyoming, in the form of a letter addressed to Bishop Peter Boehler. The substance of this document was published, for the first time, in October of 1861, in the columns of *The Moravian*, whose editor discovered it among a mass of unfiled papers in the Bethlehem Archives. It corrects the narratives of Zinzendorf's visits found in the various Histories of Wyoming, and explodes the well-known rattlesnake story, which has been so generally used, by authors and public speakers, as an instance of the marvelous way in which God protects His servants.

Zinzendorf and his companions having returned to Bethlehem on the 8th of November, a so-called "Gemeintag" was held, on the 13th of the same month. A "Gemeintag" (Church Day) was a day devoted to the public reading of reports from Moravian Missionaries and Evangelists in various parts of the world. Such reading was interspersed with hymns and prayers, and occasionally with short addresses, and often concluded with the Church litany. This particular "Gemeintag" at Bethlehem proved to be one of unusual interest and great enthusiasm. Zinzendorf presided, and, at the close of the services, assisted by Bishop David Nitschmann,

ordained Mack and Valentine Loehans, a Missionary from St. Thomas, to the ministry.

Mack soon after returned to Shekomeko, and on the 23d of December, for the first time, administered the sacrament of baptism to seven Indians, of whom four belonged to the Mohican, two to the Wompanoag, and one to the Sopus tribe. It was an occasion which filled his heart with deep joy. Gottlob Büttner, who had succeeded Rauch, as resident Missionary, baptized seven more, so that fourteen new converts were added to the Church.

In the year 1743 Mack was appointed Missionary among the Indians of New England, and took up his residence at Pachgatgoch. This was an Indian village two miles south-west of Kent, in Connecticut. The aborigines of that region were earnestly inquiring the way of life. Shekomeko being only twenty miles distant, they had often heard the Word of God in its chapel. This Word had impressed their hearts, so that there was a general cry among them: "What must we do to be saved?"

Mack arrived at the village toward the end of January, was hospitably entertained by the captain of the tribe, and began his work amidst favorable circumstances and with the hope of soon establishing a permanent Mission. The first convert whom he baptized, on the 13th of February, was Maweseman, the captain, thereafter called Gideon. He became a bold confessor of Jesus.

Not long after this, Mack received a pressing invitation from the head man of Potatik, an Indian village three miles north-east of Newton, to visit his people. This chief had formerly been a bitter enemy of the Gospel, and had often threatened to tomahawk any one who should dare to speak to him of the Christian's God. But now his sentiments were changed, and he longed to have a Teacher among his tribe. Mack and his wife hastened to respond to the invitation and spent several weeks at Potatik, proclaiming the free grace of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. The captain gave his whole influence to the cause and publicly exhorted his people to accept the Gospel. Mack returned to Pachgatgoch full of courage and joy.

There a number of new converts were baptized. Mack built himself a bark hut, in which he and his wife lived contentedly and happily, although enduring many hardships. For the Lord's sake they suffered cold and hunger, and in no particular fared better

than the Indians. The prospect of making Pachgatgoch and Potatik permanent Missionary stations grew brighter and brighter. From the latter village came a deputation to Mack, asking for a resident Teacher. He not only promised to refer this request to the Mission Board, but also paid a second visit to the place in person. Twenty baptized Indians from Shekomeko accompanied him. Among them was John, the well-known convert, incorrectly called Tschoop, whose mortal remains lie buried at Bethlehem. He proclaimed the Gospel to his countrymen with great power, and set forth its truths in the figures of native oratory. All Potatik rang with the name of Jesus.

Such success among the aborigines roused the enmity of the white settlers. They ought to have been the foremost supporters of the Mission, in as much as the conversion of the Indians would have insured the peace and promoted the prosperity of the Colony. But they took a different view of the case and determined to drive Mack from the field. Without the shadow of a proof, he was accused of being a papist. This was the charge commonly brought against the Moravians in that day. It was, undoubtedly, believed by many in Connecticut who deemed opposition to the Roman Catholic Church a sacred duty. Hence they acted conscientiously in attempting to suppress the Mission. But there were others whose motives were of the basest kind. They feared great loss to their traffic in rum, and knew that they could no longer depend upon a state of intoxication for striking advantageous bargains. As to the clergy, it is hard to resist the conclusion that they were actuated not merely by dread of the papists, but also by jealousy of the Mission. In the course of but a few years however, when the Parliament of Great Britain had acknowledged the Moravians as an ancient Episcopal Church, all such opposition came to an end, and a number of settlers, in the vicinity of Pachgatgoch, asked for the ministrations of a Moravian clergyman.

It happened, about the time when the persecution began, that Pyrlaeus and Shaw, two other Missionaries, were visiting Mack. While enjoying this fellowship and strengthening each other in the Lord, a magistrate came to the village and arrested all three of them, as papists and enemies of Great Britain. They were taken to Milford, in New Haven County, and imprisoned for ten days. After undergoing three examinations in succession, at which they

cleared themselves of all the charges against them, they were set at liberty, on condition of not preaching in any parish of Connecticut without the permission of the nearest minister. Mack was persuaded to sign a pledge to this effect. After having done so, however, he discovered to his dismay, that Pachgatgoch belonged to one of the parishes, and that the ministers of that region had all agreed to refuse their consent to his further work among the Indians. He was bitterly disappointed and could not forgive himself for having signed the paper. But there remained no way of escape. He was bound by his own act, and, with a heavy heart, retired to Shekomeko. Many of the converts followed him.

In the Spring of the following year (1744), a persecution broke out against this Mission more formidable in its character than that at Pachgatgoch. France had just joined Spain in its war against England. Dutchess County was filled with outcries against the Missionaries, who were said to be allies of the French. They were arrested and examined by the Governor, and finally the Assembly passed an act banishing them from the Province of New York. In December the Chapel was closed by the sheriff, and early in 1745, Mack and his fellow-laborers retired to Bethlehem. On his way thither he was again arrested, at Esopus, as a papist and French spy, and regained his liberty with great difficulty.

The following Autumn brought him a new vocation. A Mission was to be begun at Shamokin. He willingly consented to make the attempt, and his wife took her place by his side. This was the most dangerous and heroic enterprise in which they ever engaged. They spent four months at Shamokin, preaching the Gospel. But, with a few exceptions, it made no impression upon the savages. Shamokin was a stronghold of the Prince of Darkness. Warriors from different parts of the Indian country met there, and engaged in the most abominable orgies. At such times Mack and his wife escaped death only by fleeing into the recesses of the forest. "The most of the nights," he says, "we were obliged to spend in the open air, concealed in the forest, and exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, for we did not venture to kindle a fire." "But," he continues, "we enjoyed a blessed fellowship with the Saviour, and were very happy. At the same time, we had every opportunity to learn to know our own hearts." In December they returned to Bethlehem, whither the majority of the converts from Shekomeko had emigrated.

The next fifteen years of Mack's life were spent mostly in the wilderness. He became one of the leading Missionaries among the Indians, explored their country, and founded towns for the converts. The experience which he had gained in New York and New England peculiarly fitted him for such work. And the confidence with which he inspired the aborigines gave him an influence and authority among them that he knew how to use in the interests of the Gospel and to the glory of God.

The centre of his operations was Gnadenhütten, a village of his own creation, in the Lehigh Valley. Lehighton now occupies a part of its site. Thither he proceeded in the Spring of 1746, with the Christian Indians from Shekomeko. Under his fostering care, Gnadenhütten grew to be an Indian town such as Pennsylvania had never yet seen. It prospered materially, and spiritually it was a City of God. As far as the Alleghanies the Indian country rang with its fame. To Mack undoubtedly belongs the honor of having developed this first Moravian Indian village according to that ideal which the simple-hearted piety of the early Brethren, after having thoroughly studied the character of the natives, devised, and which, in a later day, Zeisberger brought into life, with such brilliant success, on the Susquehanna and various rivers of the West.

In addition to his work at Gnadenhütten Mack went out, several times each year to distant parts of the wilderness, preaching the Gospel to the Indians with whom he met, and trying to win them to Christianity and civilization. No hardships, no dangers, not even the small-pox, when it began to rage among them, deterred him from such tours. In the year 1748 he formed, as we have said in a previous Section, one of the escort of Baron John de Watteville, on an extensive journey through the Indian country, as far as Wyoming; and in 1752 he accompanied Zeisberger and Rundt to Onondaga, the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy, returning alone and traveling a distance of more than twelve hundred miles without a guide or any protector save God. When the terrible massacre took place at Old Gnadenhütten, in 1755, he was living with the converts in the new town, now Weissport, on the opposite side of the Lehigh, and saw the flames of the burning buildings. He brought the remnant of the Christian Indians, of whom a large part had fled, to Bethlehem, and then hastened to Nazareth, where he superintended the guards who nightly patrolled

along the line of the Moravian settlements. Toward the end of the following year (1756), he visited the settlement of Brethren in North Carolina. On his return in 1757, he was sent to found a new town for the converts who had formerly inhabited Gnadenhütten. The site chosen was in the vicinity of Bethlehem, and is now known as the "Geissinger Farm," in Hanover Township, Lehigh County. Mack began this work with a heavy heart. For he was convinced that the situation of the projected village was unfortunate, that both the wild Indians and the white settlers would be dissatisfied with the undertaking, and that it could not, in consequence, be a success. Nevertheless he laid out the town, which received the name of Nain. But his forebodings were realized. Nain was an eye-sore alike to the savages and the citizens of the County, and had to be relinquished in the course of the War of Pontiac. Mack spent three years there. "These years" he writes, "brought me the hardest experience I ever made among the heathen." In 1760, he went back to Pachgatgoch, where the Mission had been renewed, and where he labored, with great zeal and joy, until the following year, when, very unexpectedly to himself, he received a vocation from the Mission Board in Europe to superintend the work among the negro slaves of the Danish West Indies. It cost him a severe struggle to leave America, and especially Bethlehem. "I cannot express my feelings," he writes, "when about to bid farewell to Bethlehem. For many years it was my refuge whenever I returned from my arduous Missionary tours, often half naked, hungry, emaciated and sick. There I found, an hundredfold, father, mother, brothers and sisters. This refreshed my heart. How often was I not overwhelmed with joy and gratitude! God bless Bethlehem richly for all that it has done to me, and to so many other Missionaries among the heathen."

Mack sailed from New York on the 27th of June, 1762. The risks which he ran, on account of the war, were great. That fierce struggle between England and France for the possession of the American Continent, which cost so much treasure and blood, and which stirred up the Indians to deeds of such cruelty, was slowly drawing to an end. It raged on sea as well as on land. British frigates scoured the ocean in every direction, in search of French craft. Two such frigates met Mack's vessel, and in each instance, mistaking it for a ship of the enemy, fired into it. The Lord,

however, wonderfully protected His servant. The ship escaped uninjured, and he reached St. Thomas in safety, on the 30th of July.

Mack had labored among the Indians of North America for twenty years; he was to devote himself to the negro slaves of the West Indies for a still longer period. A few months after his arrival, however, it seemed as if his career were drawing to a premature end. He was seized with paralysis and lay speechless for twenty-four hours. His recovery appeared hopeless. And yet he was restored, after but a brief illness, and continued his work with new zeal and strength. His place of residence was the island of St. Thomas, but he visited frequently in St. Croix and St. Jan, and occasionally in those British Islands in which the Moravians had established Missions.

In 1770, he sailed to America, in order to receive consecration as a Bishop, to which office he had been appointed by the Unity's Board in Europe. He reached Bethlehem on the 8th of June, and spent several months in visiting various Moravian churches. During a part of the time, however, he was in the hands of a physician in Philadelphia, who succeeded by the blessing of God, in restoring his health.

Mack's consecration took place at Bethlehem, on the evening of the 18th of October. The occasion proved to be one of great interest and solemnity, in as much as it was the first episcopal consecration that occurred in the American Province. There lived, at that time, at Bethlehem, Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, the President of the Provincial Board, and the venerable Bishop David Nitschmann, the first Bishop of the Renewed Church, who had retired from active service; and there came from Lititz, Bishop Matthew Hehl, in order to take part in the consecration. The service was held in what is now the Chapel, and opened with an anthem by the choir, "Lord, Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering, and abundant in goodness and truth." Bishop Hehl preached the sermon on the Old Testament text for the day: "There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life." Joshua i, 5. He applied the words to the experiences of the servants of God in their ministry, both in Christian and in heathen lands. The act of consecration was performed by Bishop David Nitschmann, assisted by Bishops Hehl and Seidel. "The gracious presence of the Lord," says the official record, "was sensibly felt among us."

In the Bethlehem Archives is preserved an exact copy, of the Certificate of Consecration with which Mack was furnished previous to his return to the West Indies. It is a double Certificate, written first in Latin and then in English, each copy being duly signed and sealed. As the first document of the kind issued in our own Ecclesiastical Province, and as an interesting relic of ancient days, we here present a *verbatim* transcript of the English Certificate.

These Presents are to Certify and Declare unto all Men whom it doth or may in any sort Concern:

That the Right Rev. Martin Mack, a German, of the Principality of Würtemberg by Birth, was on the eighteenth Day of October, in the year of our Lord 1770, in the Name of the Holy Trinity, by Imposition of the hands of one Bishop and two Co-Bishops, at Bethlehem, in the Province of Pennsylvania, consecrated a Co-Bishop of the Episcopal Church, styled the Church of the Unitas Fratrum, or United Brethren, according to the established Rites and canons of said Church:

Whereby he hath been inducted, invested and endued with the Rights and Authority annexed to a Co-Bishop of our Church, and all whatsoever unto such office appertaineth, principally that of rightly ordaining Ministers of whatever order, according to our proper Rites; as also that of feeding, and, by every blessed Way and Means, edifying the Flock of God, which He hath purchased with his own most precious blood; but, in a special Manner, the several little Flocks of Negroes brot. to the Knowledge of Jesus Christ in the Danish and other West India Islands, where he at present resides.

In Testimony and Confirmation whereof we, who were the Consecrators, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, our Chief and only Pastor and Teacher, have set our Hands and affixed our Episcopal Seal hereunto. And we do hereby most cordially recommend our said Right Reverend Colleague to the kind Protection and Assistance of all such Magistrates and Others, under whose Jurisdiction he may be placed, on all necessary Occasions.

Done at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, the 18th May, 1772.

{L. S.}

DAVID NITSCHMANN, *Episcopus.*
MATTHAEUS HEHL,
NATHANAEL SEIDEL, *Co-episcopi.*

Mack returned to St. Thomas in safety, and resumed his work amidst domestic afflictions, but greatly encouraged by the prosperity of the Mission. Aggressiveness distinguished him as a Superintendent. New stations were established and new and larger Mission

chapels built. At the same time, he upheld the discipline and cared for the spiritual growth of the converts. His energy and humility, and the success with which his labors were crowned, gave him a name throughout the Danish Islands. He was beloved by the negroes and honored by the planters.

In the midst of the Revolutionary War and of the War between England and France, which grew out of it, he undertook in 1779, a visitation of all the Moravian Missions in the British Islands, twice narrowly escaping capture at the hands of the French; and, soon after his return to St. Thomas, sailed for Europe, in order to report personally to the Unity's Elders' Conference. After spending a year in Germany, he again betook himself to his West India field in 1781, and was welcomed by the negroes with great joy, for, says the record, "they loved and revered him as a father." But the days of his usefulness were numbered. In 1783 his health began to fail. Nevertheless he continued to work with his wonted diligence, frequently visiting St. Jan, where a new station had been established at Emmaus. In 1784, although the Missionaries around him begged him to remain at home, he got up from a bed of severe sickness, and proceeded to Emmaus in order to dedicate a new church. After his return, he officiated but once more in public, and that on Ascension Day, May 20th. On the 1st of June he ordained Peter Wolle, father of the late Bishop Wolle, a Deacon of the Church, but, owing to great weakness, performed this act privately in the presence merely of the Mission-family. A week later, on the 9th of June 1784, he gently fell asleep in Jesus, in the seventieth year of his age. His mortal remains were buried the following evening, the negro converts attending in large numbers, all, both men and women, clothed in white. Many planters, government officers, and the Governor-General himself, were present.

Mack's first wife, of whom we have frequently spoken, the daughter of John Rau, of Dutchess County, New York, died at Gnadenhütten in 1749. In 1753 he married Anna Rebstock. Their union was blessed with a daughter born at Nain, and named Theodora. Many of our readers will remember her. She lived to be ninety-two years of age, served for fifty years as a teacher in various Moravian schools, and spent the evening of her life in the Widows' House at Bethlehem, where she died, February 16, 1851. Her mother died in St. Thomas in 1772. Toward the end

of the following year, Mack married a third time, but this union continued only three months, his wife dying in March of 1774. Three years later, in 1777, he married a fourth time, but lost this fourth wife also, in the beginning of 1782. As far as we know, no descendants of his are living.

In the Archives at Bethlehem there is a portrait of Mack. His face and whole bearing show the hardships to which he was exposed on his many journeys among the Indians. At the same time, his eyes beam with a gentle and winning look.

SECTION IX.

JOHN ETTWEIN,

BISHOP OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

John Ettwein was one of the most distinguished fathers of the American Moravian Church. Of humble descent, a shoemaker by trade, he became a prince and a great man in Israel. Trained merely in a common school, with but a superficial knowledge of Latin, and no theological learning, he was prepared by the Holy Ghost for achievements in the kingdom of God unsurpassed by anything that his better educated fellow laborers accomplished. An evangelist among the early settlers of this country, traversing the Colonies from Maine to Georgia; a Missionary among the Indians, devoted to the great cause of their conversion; a leader of the Church in the stormy time of the Revolution, representing its interests with zeal and advocating its peculiar principles with boldness; a Bishop, presiding over the American Province for many years, and seeking to promote both its temporal and spiritual welfare—his name will never be forgotten and his works follow him even now. There are two manuscripts extant, in his own hand-writing, giving a condensed account of his life. In both these papers he aspires to no higher title than that of "Pilgrim." The one begins as follows: "Autobiography of John Ettwein, the Pilgrim." In the introduction to the other occurs the following sentence: "Because I have traveled so much I will assume the title of Pilgrim."

Ettwein was descended from a family of confessors. His great grandfather, Jean Edwin, lost both his parents in the persecutions

which raged in Savoy in the seventeenth century, and escaped, as a mere boy, to Würtemberg, where he found a home at St. George, in the Black Forest. There his grandfather and father were born. On the maternal side, his grandparents fled from Carinthia, for conscience' sake, and settled at Freudenstadt, which was built by the Duke of Würtemberg for those Protestants who were forced to leave the Austrian dominions. Ettwein's grandparents were among its first inhabitants. It is situated about forty miles south-west of Stuttgart, on the river Murg.

In this town, Ettwein himself was born, on the 29th of June, 1721. A pious young vicar, who instructed the class of catechumens to which he belonged, was the first to tell him of the Moravians and to teach him some of their hymns. Subsequently he met with two evangelists of their Church, who were returning from a Missionary tour in Switzerland, and received through them such new views of Christ's atoning work and saving grace, that, on the 18th day of February, 1738, the Spirit itself bore witness with his spirit that he was a child of God. Prior to this time, he had been attending the private meetings, held in his native town, by the so-called Pietists. But now he was no longer satisfied with such associations, and longed for a position, however humble, in some Moravian settlement. He spread out this desire before the Lord, and, at last, obtained his father's permission to leave home and join the Moravians. He had scarcely gone, when he was drafted into the army. His father received peremptory orders to bring him before the recruiting officers, by a certain day. This was impossible, because he did not know whither Ettwein had gone. Accordingly, the father was arrested, cast into prison, and heavily fined.

Meanwhile Ettwein was on his way to Marienborn. He traveled afoot, with a staff in his hand and a pack on his back. Near Darmstadt, his pack was stolen by a wagoner, who had offered to take charge of it; and, just as he was approaching Marienborn, he accidentally broke his staff: "I am poorer than Jacob," he said to himself on entering the town, "this patriarch had at least a staff, when he crossed the Jordan, but I have literally nothing as I come to cast in my lot with this people." It was the Autumn of 1739. The Winter which followed proved a time of great trials for young Ettwein. He could earn but little, and, for six weeks, lived on nothing but bread and water, until his necessities were discovered

by some of his friends. Soon after he fell seriously ill, and his life was despaired of. He, on the contrary, felt convinced that he would recover. Nor was he mistaken. God had work for him to do.

This work began in 1743, among the young men of Herrnhaag. Ettwein had won the confidence of Count Zinzendorf, who appointed him to various important offices in the churches of Germany, Holland, and England. His stay in England was of great importance, because it gave him an opportunity to learn the English language, without a knowledge of which his career in America could not have been so illustrious. On the 11th of March, 1746, he was married, at Marienborn, to Johanna Maria Kymbel, and, in the same year, ordained a Deacon of the Church, at Zeist, in Holland.

In 1754 Ettwein was called to labor in the extensive field which had been opened to the Church in America, and gladly accepted the vocation. At that time, a Moravian ship, the *Irene*, under the command of Captain Garrison, sailed statedly between the Old and the New World, bringing ministers, missionaries, and settlers, from the one to the other. On this vessel Ettwein took passage, in company of Bishop Spangenberg, and a body of more than fifty settlers. The voyage was prosperous. On the 20th of April, 1754, he saw Bethlehem for the first time, which became the centre of his work, and where he was known and honored, for more than half a century, as a leader among his brethren and a power in the Church of God.

Ettwein had been fore-ordained to the service of the Church in America. He was, moreover, pre-eminently fitted for it, in various respects. It called forth his energy, showed his strength of mind, and brought into play his determined zeal far more fully than any work for God in which he had been engaged while in Europe. There was something in his mode of thought that found in the New World just what he longed for. He felt at home as soon as he had landed on our shores, and began life anew. Speaking of his arrival at Bethlehem, he remarks: "From that day I became a thorough Bethlehemite and a thorough American!"

It happened to be a Saturday, and the first religious service which he attended was a love-feast for the children. More than two hundred of them were gathered in the chapel. They completely won his heart. At the same time, he was filled with a deep

sense of his responsibilities; for he had been appointed, in accordance with the usage of the time, the spiritual adviser of the children of the Church. This office involved labors among them not only at Bethlehem, but in all other Moravian settlements and Missions of the land. Hence he made the tour of the churches several times, devoting himself to the religious interests of the children with great joy and not without success.

Another work which enlisted his sympathy and co-operation, throughout his whole career in America, was the Mission among the Indians. He became acquainted with them, a few months after his arrival. In the second week of August, the Fourteenth Provincial Synod convened at Gnadenhütten. Ettwein was a member of this Synod. The manifestations of divine grace which he beheld in the case of the converts were so astonishing that, ever after, he entertained the liveliest hopes of the conversion of the aborigines as a body. Nor did he fail to labor for this end, in many ways and with unflagging perseverance, even when disappointments followed each other in quick succession. Of all this our narrative will, in due time, give interesting details. Here we will merely mention that, in the course of his ministry, Ettwein had opportunities to preach the Gospel to the Delawares, the Mohicans, the Wampamaogs, and the Six Nations, and met with warriors of the Catawba, Cherokee, Chickasaw, Nantikoke, Shawenese, and Tuscarora tribes.

At the time of the massacre of the Missionaries at Gnadenhütten, on the 24th of November, 1755, he was assisting the Pastor of the Moravian Church in New York City. David Zeisberger and Henry Frey arrived with the startling intelligence. It was a time of great excitement among the Moravians. An attack upon Bethlehem was daily expected. Ettwein hastened thither, in order to protect his wife and child. In as much, however, as the savages did not appear and his services were needed in New York, he returned to that city and labored there until New Year. He traveled both ways alone and afoot, and was frequently in great danger of falling into the hands of the war-parties that were prowling through Pennsylvania and New Jersey. On his journey back to Bethlehem, he met an Indian woman, with two little children. She proved to be a faithless convert of the Moravian Mission, Ruth by name, who had forsaken the Church and was wandering she knew not whither.

In great fear of the warriors, she begged Ettwein to aid and protect her. His heart was moved. Seating the youngest child, a boy, upon his shoulders, he carried him for miles, followed by the mother and her older son, and brought the whole party to Bethlehem. Ruth was re-admitted to the Mission Church, and subsequently settled at Friedenshütten, in Bradford County, Pennsylvania.

Three years later, Ettwein was called to the Moravian settlement in North Carolina, to temporarily take the place of Christian G. Seidel, the German Minister, who had gone to the North on a visit. His experiences in this new field of labor were interesting. His courage was tried, his endurance put to the test, and his faith made victorious.

The settlement in North Carolina had a history of but five years. And yet it was well known throughout the Colony, both on account of the thrift and industry of its inhabitants, and because of the protection which it afforded against the savages, in the French and Indian War. The little town had been surrounded with palisades and was commonly known as the "Dutch Fort." Many families flocked to this refuge; others, in consequence of a dire famine, arrived from distant places, even from Virginia, to buy provisions. Such visitors, not unfrequently, became permanent residents and members of the Moravian Church. Hence a second settlement was begun, in 1759, three miles north-west of Bethabara, on the so-called "Walnut Bottom," and received the name of Bethania.

Ettwein labored at Bethabara for nearly a year. When not engaged in ministerial work, he thoroughly explored the tract of land which the Church had purchased, searching out every spring, and following each creek to its mouth. On one occasion he narrowly escaped drowning in the South Fork.

In May of 1759, Christian G. Seidel and his wife arrived, together with some new settlers, and Ettwein returned to Bethlehem. But hardly had he reached this place, when news came that a malignant fever had broken out in the North Carolina settlement, and carried off both Seidel and his wife, as also the wife of Jacob Rogers, the English Minister, together with seven other inhabitants. Accordingly, Ettwein was forthwith sent back to Bethabara, commissioned to take Seidel's place. His wife accompanied him. They traveled on horseback and met with many hardships. One night

they were obliged to spend in a forest, where they had lost their way. Their couch of leaves was spread by the side of the prostrate trunk of a half-rotten tree whose odor poisoned the air and brought upon Ettwein an attack of intermittent fever, in its worst form. This illness continued for the next nine days. Every day a paroxysm came on, and he grew unconscious. After lying in this state for about six hours, wherever the attack happened to overtake him, his wife meanwhile watching over him and taking care of the horses, they proceeded on their journey. In this painful manner they made their way to Bethabara, where they arrived on the 4th of October.

Bishop Spangenberg, who had come there on an official visit and meant to go back to Bethlehem before the Winter set in, was obliged to remain until Spring, on account of the sickness of his wife. This was providential, for he and Ettwein now became the life of the settlement in the dreary months that followed. The Indian war was drawing nearer. Warriors were tracked in the immediate vicinity both of Bethabara and Bethania. But Ettwein and Spangenberg infused their own courage into the hearts of the other settlers; passed and repassed, at full gallop, between the two villages every twenty-four hours; had the chapel-bell statedly rung as a signal to alarm the savages, in case any were lurking in the neighborhood; and, by the blessing of God, brought their brethren through the trying Winter, without any mishap whatever. It afterward appeared that a band of one hundred and fifty Cherokees and Creeks had been encamped for six weeks, only six miles from Bethania, while a smaller camp was only three miles distant. Several attacks on the Dutch Fort were planned; but, it so happened that whenever the savages approached, they heard the bell ringing, and imagined that they were discovered. Several times, also, parties were lying in wait for Spangenberg, Ettwein, and others, on the way between Bethabara and Bethania, but their purpose was always foiled by the furious riding of the settlers. Prisoners, who had escaped from the savages, reported that they came back from such expeditions saying, the "Dutchers" had "big, fat horses, and rode like the devil." In the following Summer, when Spangenberg had left for the North, Ettwein adopted a different policy. He walked through the forest, alone and very slowly, convinced that, under such circumstances, the savages would try to take him

prisoner, without shooting at him. He quaintly, and yet heroically, says in his autobiography: "I preferred to be taken prisoner rather than to be shot, because I would in that way get an opportunity to preach the Gospel to these Indians." But God had other work for him to do, and held out His divine hand over him. The war came to an end, and Ettwein remained unharmed.

He now undertook (1762) an extensive Missionary tour through South Carolina, visiting the German settlers who were scattered over that Colony, and bringing them the bread of life. He came to Charleston, to Amelia, to the settlements along the Broad River, to Orangeburg, and to other places, and preached both in English and in German the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. At Orangeburg he found many Swiss, who gave him a regular vocation as their minister and insisted upon his accepting it, which he as persistently declined to do.

After his return to Bethabara, he was placed at the head of the entire colony of Moravians in North Carolina, by a special appointment received from the Provincial Board at Bethlehem. In the following year, 1764, he paid a visit to the North, and arrived at Bethlehem in time to attend the Twenty-eighth Provincial Synod, which convened toward the end of April. On the 29th of that month, he was ordained a Presbyter of the Church, by Bishop Peter Boehler.

After a protracted visit at Bethlehem, Ettwein returned to North Carolina, and began his labors anew, with great joy and zeal. In the year 1765, he was commissioned, by the Provincial Board, to visit Savannah, and to look after the land which Bishop Spangenberg, Bishop Nitschmann, and others, held in that Colony, for the Church.

There must have been something unusually attractive in the simplicity of his character and in the sturdy manliness of his whole bearing. Humble, and yet decided in his views and utterances; meek, and yet bold for Christ and the Gospel; never swayed by a false expediency, but straightforward in pursuing his aims; he won the esteem of all whom he met, and impressed particularly the statesmen and patriots of our country with the dignity of a child of God. Circumstances brought him in contact with many of them. One of the first was Henry Laurens, of South Carolina, who was subsequently elected President of the Continental Congress. He

became acquainted with him in 1760, and this acquaintance ripened into a warm friendship. In the Bethlehem Archives are preserved a number of letters which Ettwein received from him.

Accordingly, on his way to Georgia, he stopped at Charleston, and spent several days at Laurens' house. When about to continue his journey, Laurens forced upon him a letter of credit for £500, to be used in case he should get into difficulties. He arrived at Savannah on Maundy-Thursday. The minister of the Reformed Church, Mr. Zübli, was ill of the small-pox, and a number of Germans, members of his congregation, begged Ettwein to preach for them. He consented, but Zübli refused him his pulpit, because, as he said, Ettwein was a follower of Count Zinzendorf. Thereupon the Court House was opened. Thither the people streamed, from all parts of the town, and from the neighboring country, and Ettwein, constrained, as he says, by the love of Christ, preached several times, on Good Friday and at Easter, both in the German and in the English languages.

Having completed his business with regard to the Moravian land, he visited the Salzburger, at Ebenezer, and thence took his way home again. He traveled on horseback, and soon after having crossed the Savannah River, missed the bridle path, and was lost in a deep forest. After a time he met a lad, who offered to guide him to his father's cabin. This man had visited Bethabara, and entertained Ettwein with great hospitality. The next day, a cattle-dealer, who had large herds roaming through the forest, did the same. He proved to be a Baptist and a true Christian. Their conversation was of the things that make for peace. At parting, he kissed Ettwein, and said to him: "As soon as you entered my cabin, I knew that you were a child of God." Ettwein arrived at Bethabara in safety, after a journey of about nine hundred miles.

In the following year his labors in North Carolina came to an end. Bishop David Nitschmann, surnamed "the Syndic," had come to America on an official visit, in order to make known and introduce the new constitution of the Unitas Fratrum, adopted by the Seventeenth General Synod, held in 1764. He wrote to Ettwein and invited him to attend the Twenty-ninth Provincial Synod, which was to convene at Bethlehem. Simultaneously with this letter, he received another from Governor Tryon, of North Carolina, summoning him to his seat on the Cape Fear River, in Bruns-

wick County. He wrote that many severe accusations against the Moravians had been laid before him, and that he wished to see a representative of the settlement at Bethabara. Hence Ettwein determined first to visit the Governor, and then to proceed to Bethlehem. When he was ready to begin this journey his wife broke one of her legs. The nearest physician lived at Salisbury, forty miles off. Hence Ettwein himself set and bandaged the limb, receiving all praise for his skill from the surgeon, who arrived in a few days. As soon as possible Ettwein left Bethabara, and rode to Brunswick County. His interview with the Governor was of the most satisfactory character. Every prejudice was removed, and he invited Ettwein to stay at his house, introduced him to his chaplain, and showed him all honor.

After a few days he continued his journey by way of Wilmington, Halifax, Petersburg, Richmond, Baltimore and Lancaster to Bethlehem, arriving in time for the opening of the Synod, on the 30th of May. In consequence of the constitutional changes which this body inaugurated, Ettwein was appointed Assistant of Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, at Bethlehem, and Frederick de Marshall was sent to Bethabara to take his place. Immediately after the Synod Ettwein returned to North Carolina, accompanied by Matthew Schropp and Dr. Jacob Bonn, who was to be the physician of the Moravian settlement. He found his wife restored, and, on the 20th of September, arrived with her at Bethlehem, that American home which he loved so well. "Within six months," he writes, "I traveled more than two thousand miles. And from this time, for many years, the history of my life will prove to be a history of constant journeys."

As Bishop Seidel was growing old and infirm, he frequently sent Ettwein on official visits. Ettwein was not only always willing to go, but also considered himself to be a traveling evangelist, sent to all men, and not merely to the Moravians. Wherever he came, he never neglected an opportunity to preach salvation in Christ's name. The good that he accomplished in this way cannot be summed up in a statistical table, but it is written in the Book of God.

The first tour of the kind brought him to New England. He visited Rhode Island, where he laid the corner-stone of a Moravian church at Newport; and Massachusetts, where he preached at Bos-

ton and in its vicinity. From Boston he sailed to Broadbay, in Maine. There the Moravians had a preaching station. His description of their tract of land in North Carolina so captivated a number of the Broadbay settlers that they subsequently emigrated to that Colony, and founded the church at Friedland.

In the following year, 1768, Ettwein visited the Indian Mission at Friedenshütten, in Bradford County, Pennsylvania. He was directed to consult with the Missionaries and the converts respecting a new enterprise to be undertaken among a wild tribe of savages on the Alleghany. On his way to Friedenshütten, he took the wrong trail, which led him to the Susquehanna at a spot where there was a deep and dangerous hole in the bed of the river. He knew nothing of this, and was on the point of riding into the water, when he met two Indian converts, who told him of his peril. In his autobiography, he breaks out into a fervent ascription of praise to God, when recording this circumstance, and adds that he would inevitably have lost his life, if the Lord had not sent His angels, in the person of the two converts, to warn him.

After his return he remained at home for a time, engaged in the duties of his office. In 1770 he assisted in founding the well-known "Widows' Society of Bethlehem," which association has now existed for more than a century, and conferred its blessings upon hundreds of women.

In 1771, however, he resumed his journeys, accompanying a deputation, which had arrived from Germany on an official visit, and which consisted of Christian Gregor, John Loretz and John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, to the Moravian churches of the country, including those in North Carolina; and in the following year, he went out on one of the most perilous of his tours, putting himself at the head of the Christian Indians of the Susquehanna, and leading them through dense forests, through swamps that were almost impassible, and across the Alleghany Mountains to the Tuscarawas Valley, in Ohio. "For eight weeks," he says, "I slept every night in the open air. It was a hard but a blessed journey. I would have been willing to travel across the whole American Continent with these Indians. The love which they showed me and each other, the perfect peace which reigned among them, and the contentment which they displayed, were truly astonishing. The children were particularly fond of me. Whenever we stopped

for the night, they vied with each other in bringing me grass, ferns and leaves, and prepared the softest couch that the forest could afford." On the way out, as well as on his return, as often as he came to a white settler's homestead, or to a pioneer-village, he preached the Gospel. At Pittsburg he had among his hearers a regiment from one of the far Western forts that had not listened to a sermon for more than a year. He returned to Bethlehem, after an absence of several months. Three times, in the course of this journey, he was in danger of losing his life; twice by falling from his horse, which dragged him for some distance, and once by treading on a large rattlesnake, with fifteen rattles. His escape in this last case was almost miraculous. For a number of days afterward he suffered from a nervous prostration, which rendered his further journey through the forest exceedingly painful.

The emigration of the Christian Indians to Ohio was misunderstood by the Six Nations. Hence, in the following year, Ettwein visited Sir William Johnson, at his seat in the Mohawk country, and explained the true state of the case. He happened to arrive at Johnson's Hall on St. Patrick's Day, when the baronet gave a grand family dinner, to which Ettwein was invited. On leaving this seat, he continued his journey through the Eastern part of New York and New England. At Pachgatgoch he found but a single native family; at New London he proclaimed Christ to a large meeting of Baptists; at Stonington Harbor he pointed a company of so-called "New Lights" to the same Saviour; at many other places he showed forth His praises. He returned to Bethlehem after a tour of more than one thousand miles. In the following year he undertook a similar journey through Maryland.

And now the Revolutionary War began. It was a time in which Ettwein labored with greater zeal than ever before, and with more unflinching courage, both for the Lord and the Church. In the Spring of 1776, Amadeus Thrane, the eloquent pastor of the church at Bethlehem, died, and he temporarily took his place. In December of the same year, and again in September of the following year, the General Hospital of the American Army was established in this town. It remained for fourteen months, and he became its chaplain, preaching twice a week to its inmates, and visiting them frequently besides. At the same time he received, in the name of the Church, the many distinguished visitors who flocked to Bethle-

hem, both military officers and statesmen. In this way he met with Washington, Lafayette, Pulaski, Hancock, Samuel Adams, and many others. The Bethlehem Archives embrace a collection of letters written to him by such characters. Among these missives is one from Washington. Nor were these social courtesies the only occasions which brought him in contact with the leaders of the Revolution. He was the accredited representative of the Moravian Church in its negotiations with Congress and with the Assembly of Pennsylvania. Such negotiations frequently took place and were of a delicate character. They related, in part, to the Indian Mission; in part, to the losses incurred by the Moravian settlements in the course of the war; and, in part, to the conscientious scruples which the members of the Church entertained with regard to the Test Act. Ettwein, however, was just the man for the crisis. He says in his autograph: "The Lord gave me courage and caused me to find grace in the sight of all reasonable men. A few petty tyrants in Northampton County were the only persons who brought me into tribulation, and that for but a few hours." In 1778, he presented a memorial to Congress, which was in session at York, and another to the Provincial Assembly at Lancaster. This latter paper he laid before the Assembly in person, was honored with a seat by the side of the Speaker, and permitted to address the house. He quaintly remarks: "It seemed to me as if I were officiating at a public service in one of our Moravian congregations." In 1779, he spent many weeks in Philadelphia, engaged in similar negotiations. His friend Henry Laurens stood by him manfully, and the result was that the Moravians were not subjected to the Test Act.

When we take into consideration that Ettwein, especially in the beginning of the Revolution, was a pronounced Tory, his success in such negotiations is all the more surprising. On one occasion, when the news of a victory gained by the British reached Bethlehem, he gave thanks to God in a public service. For this act he was arrested and imprisoned at Easton, although only for a few hours. It was mainly through the influence of John Christian Alexander de Schweinitz, the Administrator at Bethlehem, that he was, at last, induced to accept the independence of the Colonies as a fact against which the Moravian Church ought not to protest.

The following years Ettwein spent at Hope, New Jersey, at Lititz, and in visiting various churches of the Brethren. He every-

where introduced the so-called "Brotherly Agreement," which had been adopted by the Thirty-second Provincial Synod, held at Bethlehem, in 1781, under the presidency of Bishop John Frederick Reichel, who had come to this country, in the name of the Unity's Elders' Conference, in order to advise with his brethren upon the troubles caused in the Church by the Revolution. This Agreement is still accepted, substantially, by our churches.

Reichel returned to Europe in 1781. In the following year, Bishop Nathaniel Seidel died. Ettwein succeeded him. This opened the way to the episcopacy. But as Bishop Graff, of North Carolina, had died the same year, there remained only one Moravian bishop in America, and that was the venerable Bishop Matthew Hehl, at Lititz. Hence his consecration was delayed until Bishop John de Watteville came to this country, in 1784. On the 25th of June, it being the forty-second anniversary of the organization of the church at Bethlehem, Watteville, with the assistance of Bishop Hehl, set Ettwein apart for the episcopacy, with the laying on of hands. The services of the entire day, says the official record, were of the most solemn and edifying character, but none more so than this consecration. In his address, Watteville set forth the duties of the episcopal office. Among other things, he said, that a bishop must bear the whole Unitas Fratrum upon his heart, and not only pray, without ceasing, for its prosperity, but also watch over its welfare. Whenever he sees anything that is amiss, or whenever he has anything to suggest that would be for its good, it is his duty to present the case to the Unity's Elders' Conference or to that Provincial Board which may be particularly concerned.

The first ordination, which the new Bishop administered, took place at Lititz on the 27th of October of the same year, and was that of Abraham Reinke to the deaconship. He was the father of the late Bishop Samuel Reinke, and the grandfather of Bishop Amadeus A. Reinke, of New York.

After his consecration to the episcopacy, Ettwein continued to visit the Moravian churches, but he no longer itinerated through the country, as in former years. His duties within the limits of his own ecclesiastical Province required all his attention.

A most important part of his labors related to the Indian Mission. This had received a terrible blow through the massacre of the converts at Gnadenhütten, in Ohio. But Ettwein hoped in God

and used every effort to resuscitate the work. To this end, in conjunction with his colleagues, he laid a memorial before Congress, setting forth the sufferings and the claims of the Christian Indians. After a considerable delay Congress took it up, and, in 1785, granted to the converts a reservation, in the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio, consisting of twelve thousand acres. Two years later, mainly through the exertions of Ettwein, who was its first President, the "Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen" was organized at Bethlehem. This association, which received charters both from Pennsylvania and from New Jersey, enlisted his warmest sympathy, and was, in his view, to be a means for bringing about the conversion of the entire Indian race. Hence he petitioned the Assembly of Pennsylvania for land upon which to gather a colony of converted natives, within the limits of the State, as the basis of extensive operations in the Indian country. In response, the Assembly granted five thousand acres on Lake Erie.

Meanwhile Ettwein had gone to Europe, as a representative of the American Province at the Twenty-first General Synod, held at Herrnhut, in 1789. He was absent one year. On his return, he heard, at New York, that his wife was dead. He says of her: "For forty-three years she was my faithful and beloved helpmate. She could not have been in more perfect harmony with the spirit of my work. She not only never objected to my many journeys and protracted absence, but often shared my toils and hardships. She traveled with me, afoot, in Europe and in this country, at various times, at least two thousand five hundred miles." On New Year's Day of 1790, Ettwein returned to Bethlehem.

His service in the Church continued eleven years longer, but his bodily strength began to wane. He attended to the duties of his office, however, with his wonted faithfulness, until 1798, when a painful hoarseness attacked his throat, so that he could not officiate in public. Looking upon this affliction as a sign that his work was done, he proposed to retire from the presidency of the Provincial Board. But his colleagues were unwilling to lose the counsels of so experienced a man, and persuaded him to remain at their head for some years longer. In 1801, however, when the Twenty-second General Synod had convened at Herrnhut, he sent in his resignation. It was accepted, and Bishop Loskiel was appointed his suc-

cessor. Ettwein rejoiced when informed of this, and, his throat being better, undertook, in accordance with the request of the Synod, the consecration of Charles Gotthold Reichel to the episcopacy, on the 6th of December. This was the last time that he appeared in public. "He officiated," says the record, "with much unction. The whole congregation was deeply moved, especially when this venerable servant of Jesus and Bishop of the Brethren's Church proceeded to offer the consecratory prayer and to perform the act of consecration." Toward the end of the month he was taken seriously ill, and on the 2d of January, while his colleagues were standing around his bed, and while one of them was in the act of imparting "the last blessing," he gently fell asleep in Jesus, in the 81st year of his age.

It will be both proper and interesting to introduce, in this connection, the closing part of his manuscript autobiography.

"I now begin to look with longing eyes," he writes, "for the end of my pilgrimage. The signs are multiplying that it is not far off. Prior to 1793, as far as I can recollect, I seldom sighed under the weight of any load. Now I am weak and my courage almost gone, but not the comfort which Christ's death gives me, and not my confidence in Him. My daily prayer is that I may taste more of His meritorious grace. If He has owned my many journeys, if anything that I have done has been well-pleasing in His sight, all the honor belongs to Him. Whatever was good in my life came from Him; its many insufficiencies and faults were mine. God has trained me, as a father trains his son. The only thing of which I boast is that I have found grace in His sight. If I could praise Him as He deserves to be praised, there would be no end to my thanksgivings. I have been upon the ocean twelve times, and have seen His wonders in the deep. The long and weary road between Bethlehem and Wachovia, in North Carolina, I traveled five times, each way. Twice I itinerated, as a preacher of the Cross, through South Carolina and Georgia, five times through New England, and several times through Maryland, and never concealed my badge as a messenger of the Great King. I preached in all the States of the Federal Union, excepting Delaware and Kentucky, in cities, in villages, in homesteads, from pulpits, in the open air, in court-houses, barns, and other stuctures, to many and to very different classes of men, and always proclaimed

the name of my crucified Saviour. I had many opportunities to tell the Indians—the Wampanoags, Mohicans, Delawares, Monseys, Senecas, Cajugas, Oneidas, and others of the Six Nations—who it is that has redeemed them from the power of sin and of the devil, and purchased them with His own blood. I visited the towns of the Catawbas, and, at various times, met with Cherokees, Chikesaws, Nanticokes, Tuscaroras, and Shawanese. I can not sufficiently extol the care with which my Father in heaven watched over me, and the ministrations of His Holy Angels, on my many journeys. More than twenty times I was in danger of losing my life. My Saviour has loved me with an everlasting love: therefore with loving kindness has He drawn me. That He deemed me worthy to serve His Church, and to witness of His grace by the preaching of the Gospel, has often caused me to bow with tears at His feet. What am I? My unworthiness I can never forget. His grace was with me. His patience accompanied me. I adore Him in the dust for all that He has done. Goodness and mercy have followed me everywhere, and have made my hardest experiences easy. Goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life. Glory be to God! Amen! Amen!"

This confession, at the close of his long life, gives a deep insight into Ettwein's character. The secret of his power and success was a heart wholly consecrated to Christ and filled with Christ's love. He burned with the desire to promote the honor of his Saviour, to win souls for Him, and to further the prosperity of the Church. At the same time, his adopted country called forth many an earnest effort to establish its real interest; and his fellowmen generally found him ready to do them good. He was a man of sound judgment and great decision of character. Whenever he was called upon to defend the cause of his Lord, he came to the battle brave as a hero. Nothing could move him. Even those whom he opposed were constrained to respect his honesty and courage.

There was one trait in his character which often caused pain to those who were around him. He was quick in expressing his opinion with regard to men and measures, and his short, abrupt utterances made him, at times, appear harsh. Upon closer acquaintance, however, this trait did not prove offensive; for the honesty of his motives became transparent. In this connection, the following sentiments, written on a slip of paper, on the 8th of April, 1796,

and found among his manuscripts—this slip being preserved in the Bethlehem Archives—will prove interesting:

"I am waiting for my Lord, as a redeemed sinner, who has found grace. If my last hour should come, as I think it will come, when I am alone, and there is no one near to hear my farewell words, I wish to assure my brethren that they may be perfectly easy with regard to my end. I forgive all those who have trespassed against me, and pray to God to forgive them. Every thing else I have committed to Him. He is the righteous Judge. If I have expressed an unjust opinion with regard to any brother, and have accused him of anything of which he was innocent before God, I have also, very frequently, prayed the Lord to forgive me this error. He knows that I love my brethren, and that I only hate unrighteousness, insincerity, and falsehoods in any form."

On Tuesday, the 5th of January, 1802, the funeral of this aged servant of Christ took place. Many members of the Church from Nazareth and Emmaus, and a large concourse of people from the vicinity of Bethlehem, attended. Bishop Charles Gotthold Reichel officiated, delivering a brief address on the words: "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, according to Thy word; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation:" Luke ii, 29, 30. Ettwein's mortal remains were interred by the side of those of Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, with whom he had been associated, for many years, in holy work. And there, in the second grave from the north-west corner of the Bethlehem Burying Ground, they await the resurrection of the just.

A number of his descendants, bearing his name, are living in Northampton County, but not in connection with the Church. Miss Benigna Ettwein, who resided for many years in the Sisters' House at Bethlehem, was his daughter.

SECTION X.

MATTHEW HEHL, A. M.,

BISHOP OF THE BRETHREN'S CHURCH.

Matthew Hehl was born on the 30th of April, 1705, at Ebersbach, in Würtemburg. His father was a merchant. The pure light of religion illumined his home. Both his parents were sincere Christians, and dedicated him, as their first born, with fervent prayers and simple faith, to the service of the Lord. In his ninth year he was sent to the school at Kirchheim, and, in his fifteenth, to Tübingen, where he subsequently entered the university and took the degree of Master of Arts, in 1723. His spiritual life, however, was not satisfactory. He embraced the many opportunities to sin which the university offered, and led a riotous life. The loving admonitions of his mother, who had heard of his excesses, arrested him in the midst of them, and he began to experience the greatest anxiety on their account. Recognizing his guilt in all its enormity, his conscience gave him no peace, until, on the 14th of August, 1725, the Lord suddenly revealed Himself with His pardoning and sanctifying grace. In the course of time he found other students who had made similar experiences, and they organized among themselves a union for prayer and edification.

In 1759 he was appointed vicar of the parish at Gross Heppach. Thither came Christian David, "the servant of the Lord," on his way back from Switzerland to Herrnhut, and gave an account, in

public, of the Ancient Brethren's Church, and of its resuscitation at Herrnhut. This narrative made a deep impression on Hehl's mind, and he felt drawn to the Brethren before ever having seen their settlement. Hence when Count Zinzendorf, some years later, visited Würtemburg, he paid him a visit, which proved very satisfactory. Their parting interview was characteristic. Martin Dober showed Hehl to the Count's private room at the hotel at which he was staying, where he was found sitting at his table engrossed in writing. Hehl approached; Zinzendorf continued his work, and took no notice of him. At last he looked up, and fixed his eyes intently upon him without saying a word. Hehl returned the look in silence. After a while, the Count simply said: "If you have time, visit us at Herrnhut." This closed the interview. Hehl left with the conviction that God had, through His servant, called him to the service of the Moravian Church.

Soon after he resigned his position as vicar, and returned to Tübingen. There he met with Spangenberg, who offered him, in Zinzendorf's name, the position of private tutor to the young Count Christian Renatus. Hehl accepted the offer, and, after having obtained leave of absence for three years from the Consistory—which, subsequently, dismissed him altogether to the Moravian Church—left the city, in the evening, just before the closing of the gates, and took his way, afoot, to a neighboring village where he rested a few hours. At midnight he continued his journey. He had not gone far before so overwhelming a sense of joy and peace filled his heart, and so clear a consciousness of his divine calling as a laborer in the field appointed to the Brethren, that he plunged into a neighboring wood, and fell down before God, praising and blessing His holy name. He arrived at Herrnhut on the 2d of November, 1734.

The next eleven years were spent partly in instructing his pupil, and partly in work among the other children of the settlement. He began a sort of Infant School, and subsequently a Parochial School. In 1737 he married Anna Maria Jähne, one of the leaders in the well-known awakening which took place in 1727, among the children at Herrnhut. On the 25th of April 1744, he was ordained a Presbyter of the Church. In the following year he received a vocation to go to America, and take part in the work for God which the Moravian Church was beginning on this continent.

He gladly accepted this call. But the war between England and France, which was then raging, especially upon the sea, made it impossible for him to leave Europe, where he remained six years longer. In 1751, however, the way was not only open, but news came also of the death of Bishop Cammerhoff. Hehl was appointed his successor, and proceeded to London, where he was consecrated to the episcopal office, on the 24th of September, by Bishops John de Watteville, Augustus Spangenberg and Peter Boehler. Hehl was consecrated a "Chor Episcopus," that is, a Provincial Bishop, in accordance with that usage, adopted from the early Christian Church, which prevailed among the Moravians of giving this title to such bishops as were sent to labor in a Province of the Unitas Fratrum. Soon after he set sail for America, with Bishop Spangenberg and several other Moravian clergymen, and reached New York on the 4th of December, 1751, just as the *Irene*, with Bishop John Nitschmann on board, was leaving that harbor for Europe.

On the 10th he arrived at Bethlehem. In a letter to Count Zinzendorf he calls this settlement "the hill upon which God has set his seal," and gives an interesting description of the reception with which he met among its inhabitants. He says: "The fact that Brother Spangenberg was with me at once opened every door, and, I may add, every heart. In the case of old acquaintances, I found that our mutual love had not only not grown rusty, but that this reunion made it brighter; while such as were strangers to me granted me their confidence without the least hesitation, so that ever since I have been here I have had daily cause to be ashamed of my own unworthiness, and to glory in the goodness of my Lord."

Hehl was not only Bishop Spangenberg's Assistant, but intrusted also with the particular superintendence of the country churches, and the educational concerns of the Province. Before beginning the duties of this office he accompanied Spangenberg on a visit to Philadelphia, where he was presented to Governor Hamilton, Secretary Peters, and Chief Justice William Allen. Soon after his return to Bethlehem the Eighth Provincial Synod convened at that place, and he became acquainted with the ministers and missionaries of the American Moravian Church. In the following Summer he took an active part in the councils which were held with the delegates of the Nanticoke, Shawanese, Mohican and Delaware Indians, who came to visit the Brethren. During the protracted surveying

tour which Bishop Spangenberg undertook in North Carolina, he stood at the head of the Church, and presided at the Tenth Provincial Synod, held at Oley, in Pennsylvania, in November, 1752. After Spangenberg's return, he continued his assistant for four years longer. The letters which he wrote to Zinzendorf give us an insight into the spiritual activity and life which distinguished the Province in that period, and set forth, in particular, the unity of the spirit that prevailed among the churches and the ministers. Hehl, although among the most honored of the clergy, was always ready, in lowliness of mind, to esteem others better than himself. In one of his letters he says: "I am, so to say, but a poor, ignorant lad, and yet I am associated with men who must be called Princes of God. Were it not for the faithfulness of my Saviour and the patience of my brethren, I could not stand before Him or before them."

In 1756, Lititz was laid out, on the plan of the exclusive settlements of the German Province. It remained entirely distinct from the so-called Economy, at Bethlehem and Nazareth; and, indeed, was to be the home of such Moravian immigrants from Europe as might be unwilling to submit to the peculiar arrangements, and the many restrictions, which prevailed in those two towns. In this new settlement Bishop Hehl took up his residence.

It was to be, in the language of the document placed in the corner-stone of the old "Gemein-haus," an "Ignatian episcopal seat," (*Sedes Episcopalis Ignatiana*), and the bishop living there was to be the Superintendent of the country churches in Pennsylvania and Maryland. By the "Ignatian episcopal seat," which title was given by Zinzendorf, was probably meant, that in the same way in which Antioch, whose first Bishop was Ignatius, had grown to be the second great centre of the primitive Christian Church, Jerusalem being the first, so Lititz was to become the second great centre of the American Moravian Church, Bethlehem being the first.

In as much as the superintendency of the country churches had been originally committed to Hehl, it would have been natural to give him the position at Lititz, without further ceremony. But, at the Sixteenth Provincial Synod, two other bishops, besides himself, were proposed, namely, Spangenberg and Peter Boehler. Thereupon the Synod resolved to leave the decision to the Lord by the

lot, and to use it, in this instance, in the same way in which it had been used by the Bohemian Brethren, in 1467, at the Synod of Lhota, when appointing their first ministers. Accordingly, four tickets were prepared, of which three were left blank, and one was inscribed with the Latin word *Est*. A fervent prayer having been offered, the three bishops, Spangenberg, Hehl, and Peter Boehler, advanced and drew each a ticket. Upon opening them it appeared that the one marked *Est* was in the hand of Bishop Hehl. In this way he became Superintendent at Lititz. In case all three of them had drawn blanks, Bishop David Nitschmann, who was in America at the time, would no doubt have been appointed.

Hehl labored at Lititz for twenty-eight years, visiting the country churches of his district regularly and faithfully. He retained his seat in the Provincial Board at Bethlehem, and, amidst the trying experiences of the Revolutionary War, his judicious counsel was of great weight. In 1784, when in the eightieth year of his age, he retired from office, and spent the remaining years of his life in fervent intercessions for the prosperity of the American Moravian Church and of the entire Unitas Fratrum. He died on the 4th of December, 1787, amidst the prayers and hymns of his brethren. A little while before passing away, he offered a prayer of which, however, those around him understood but the closing words, namely, "to all eternity, Amen." He was buried on the 9th of December, at the upper end of the Lititz Graveyard, on the right hand of the middle avenue. The following is the inscription on his tomb-stone: *Matthew Godfrey Hehl, Tübingensis, born in Würtemberg, April* 30, 1705, *died December* 4, 1787, *aged* 82 *years, in the* 37*th year of his episcopate.*

His brethren say of him: "His steadfast faith, his sincere love to God and man, his lively hope, his untiring diligence, and his approved faithfulness in the service of the Lord, will never be forgotten." He was a learned man, at one time the associate or correspondent of some of the first theologians of Germany. In proof of this, we have before us a lengthy communication addressed to him by that celebrated divine of the last century, John Albert Bengel, in his own hand-writing, setting forth a plan for a new Greek and German Lexicon. Amidst his profound theological studies, moreover, Hehl found time to devote himself to music, for which he had a rare gift. As a preacher he was eloquent, and as

a hymnologist his talents were of no mean order. Some of the most beautiful hymns in the German Hymn-book of the Church are from his pen; among them stands pre-eminent the one which begins: "Geht, erhöht die Majestät des Kirchenhaupts mit Preis und Ruhm," etc., (No. 533).

As far as we have been able to ascertain, there are descendants of Bishop Hehl living, but where, and what name they bear, we can not tell. They are not in connection with the Church.

A RED ROSE FROM THE OLDEN TIME;

OR,

A RAMBLE THROUGH THE ANNALS

OF THE

ROSE INN

AND

THE BARONY OF NAZARETH,

IN THE DAYS OF THE PROVINCE,
1752–1772.

BY
WILLIAM C. REICHEL.

EDITED BY
JOHN W. JORDAN.
1883.

PREFACE.

The first edition of this contribution to the history of the Moravians in Pennsylvania, appeared in the Spring of 1872. Being limited to two hundred copies it was soon exhausted, whereupon there came a call for the reproduction of the monograph, accompanied by the expression of a wish on the part of many of its readers for fuller details and further delineation in the matter of "A Red Rose from the Olden Time." To this call Professor Reichel prepared to respond, and this wish he essayed to gratify in the summer of 1873; but the press of other literary work, and his subsequent illness and death, left them unfulfilled.

The editor has undertaken to complete what his friend proposed, from material furnished by James Henry, of Boulton-on-Lehietan, who, too, has wrought so industriously in the mine of Moravian antiquities, and by much that is now drawn from the very springs of Moravian old-time lore. He has also prepared an Appendix, containing "A Sketch of the Barony of Nazareth," and a complete inventory of "The Rose," made in April of 1765.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

February, 1883.

A Red Rose from the Olden Time.

1752.

THAT charming tract of rolling country, rich in springs and water-courses, rich in meadows and rich in wheat-growing lands, whose original metes and bounds almost intact are within those of Upper Nazareth township, and which is the very heart of Northampton County, was purchased by the Moravians in the Summer of 1741. They bought of Whitefield. Its contents, we are told, were five thousand acres, every acre being measured and computed according to the dimensions of acres, mentioned and approved in and by the statute made in the thirty-third year of the reign of King Edward the First. After the founding of Bethlehem, the Moravians made successive improvements on this tract, as follows:

Late in the Autumn of 1743 they finished a stone house that had been designed for a charity-school by the great field-preacher, and which some of their number had begun to erect for him in June of 1740. It is now within the limits of the borough of Nazareth and, as of old, bears the name of Ephrata. You may recognize it by its gambrel roof, its gray grown walls and the air of severest composure with which it looks down upon the paltry innovations of modern times, that are crowding up to its very portals. Not far from this historic pile and hard by a never-failing spring, there was built in 1744, the first of a cluster of houses and stables, which eventually completed the four sides of a spacious quadrangle. Here dwelt the men and women, and here were housed the horses and oxen, that tilled the first of the noble farms laid out by the Moravians on the great tract of which we write. This was "the Nazareth farm," for the grange and thorpe were

called Nazareth. The manse and chapel, however, were in the stone-house Ephrata, which was overshadowed by an oak in whose forks hung the church-going bell.

A second farm was laid out in 1745, two miles North by West from Nazareth. Barns, cow-houses, sheep-houses and milk-houses gradually sprang up about the central building of the plot, from the turret of whose red-tiled roof a lesser bell sounded faintly down the peaceful vale, thrice on every day of the year summoning its devout people to the services of the sanctuary. So it, too, was a thorpe as well as a grange, and nestling in a hollow at the foot of the ridge which traverses the great tract from East to West, was called Gnadenthal, *i. e.*, "The Valley of Grace."

Touching the Gnadenthal farm on the Southwest, a third improvement was begun in 1747. Here the waters of the Menagassi were made to turn the overshot wheel of a grist and saw-mill, and after the erection of dwellings and stables, of a smith-shop and a brewery, the settlement was complete. Men marvelled much at the quaintness of its houses, quartered and brick-nogged, hip-roofed and tiled; they marvelled much, too, at the quaintness of the brotherhood, which for almost half a century divided its time between the management of the mills and the raising of horses and cattle.[1] This industrious hive also was a thorpe as well as a grange, and was named Albrecht's Spring at first, subsequently, however, Christian's Spring, in remembrance of Christian Renatus, a son of Count Zinzendorf.

In this way, then, were the five thousand acres aforementioned (each acre of which had been measured and computed according to the dimensions of acres, mentioned and approved in and by statute made in the thirty-third year of the reign of the First Edward) gradually reclaimed from the wilderness, and on oases of their own planting in its forests, did the early Moravians live somewhat after the manner of the primitive Christians, in an Economy. Thus halcyon days and happy years, spent amid the delights of pastoral life, rolled gently down the stream of time when, in 1751, there came orders from the headmen of the Church in the old country, for the laying out of a village on some eligible spot within the limits of the

[1] In the interval between December of 1749 and April of 1796, the above described farm was the seat of an Economy of unmarried men, known in Moravian parlance as "The Single Brethren's Economy at Christian's Spring."

princely domain, like unto the Moravian villages in Germany. Bishop Spangenberg, accordingly, selected and had surveyed into a town-plot, a parcel of one hundred and sixty acres, adjacent to the Northern boundary of the modern borough of Nazareth. The survey was actually commenced in mid-winter, or to be more precise, on the third day of January, 1752,—preparations looking to the erection of dwellings on the opening of Spring were simultaneously set on foot, and the name of Gnadenstadt, *i. e.*, "The City of Grace," was given to the projected town.[2] But the inhabitants of Nazareth whom it was proposed transferring thither, could not be prevailed upon to exchange the poetry of an Economy for the prose of town-life and the restrictions of a municipium. Hence the building of Gnadenstadt was indefinitely postponed, not, however, until after the completion of a small log-house[3] at an early day, and the erection of a rather imposing looking frame-mansion of two stories, which was assuming dimensions while the people of Nazareth continued to demur in the face of the headmen and the Bishop, and which, sometime after their final decision, was auspiciously finished. Now the latter was the first house of entertainment for the "Tract," or "The Barony," as it was called, in as far as when William

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[2] *January* 3.—"Bro. Joseph [Spangenberg], Nathaniel [Seidel], Hermann, Samuel Krause, [of Bethlehem], Lœsch [warden at Christian's Spring] and Schropp [of Nazareth] laid out 160 acres, with compass, for Gnadenstadt."

January 4.—"A stone-quarry was selected in the 'Long Meadow' by Bro. Joseph, for the stones are 'so schön.'"

January 7.—"Began to quarry stone. Lœsch and Eric Ingetbretsen chained the site for the town."

January 10.—"Bro. Nathaniel escorted the masons and carpenters from Bethlehem to Christian's Spring; at Nazareth they were welcomed with sound of trumpets. The masons were led to the stone-quarry and the carpenters began to fell trees. There were forty hands in all."

[3] This stood vacant until in May of 1760, when it was occupied by John George Claus, a native of Alsace, and Mary Catharine, m. n. Kuehn, his wife. In the Autumn of 1761, Gottlieb Demuth, from Radelsdorf, Bohemia, (sometime an inhabitant of Georgia) took up a lot a quarter of a mile South from the Inn and blocked up a house. In this way the building of Gnadenstadt was gradually resumed, and the place grew; but in June of 1762, it received the name of Schœneck, *i. e.* "Pretty Corner," and in October of the same year, divine worship (for which the inhabitants had met at Claus's dwelling up to that time) was first held in a newly-erected school and parsonage. The present stone church in the hamlet of Schœneck, once embraced so charmingly in weeping willows to the very pinnacle of its antique belfry, is a creation of later days, having been completed in 1793, and dedicated to the worship of God on the 20th of October of that year.

Penn, Sr., late Proprietary and Chief Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, by the name of William Penn of Worminghurst in the County of Sussex, Esquire, released and confirmed its five thousand acres to his trusty friend Sir John Fagg, for the sole use and behoof of his beloved daughter Letitia—he confirmed them to him with the privilege of holding thereon *court baron* and views of frank pledge for the conservation of the peace;—being, therefore, as has just been stated, the first house of entertainment erected on Nazareth land—a very ancient hostelry and a goodly one forsooth, it behooves us to ponder diligently what of its history has been rescued from the iniquity of oblivion by antiquarian research.

On the 2d of February, 1752, John Jacob Lœsch and Carl Schultze, residents of Bethlehem, were instructed by the authorities "to draft an Inn or Tavern-house, such as would be suitable to erect behind Nazareth for the conveniency of the workmen at Gnadenstadt and also for the entertainment of strangers, said house to be thirty-five by thirty feet, to be furthermore quartered, bricknogged and snugly weather-boarded, with a yard looking North and a garden South." For some reason or other nowhere stated, a site for this important accessory was selected on a tract of two hundred and forty-one acres of land, which had been surveyed to the Moravians sometime previous by old Nicholas Scull, and which touched the head line of the Barony. Here, then, the Inn was staked off—here its cellar was dug deep down into the cool slate—whereupon on the 27th day of windy March of the last mentioned year, the first stone of the foundation was laid by Bishop Spangenberg, assisted by Warden Schropp, of Nazareth, Gottlieb Pezold, of Bethlehem, and others. Thereafter the duly appointed artificers in wood, mortar and bricks wrought industriously at the structure, save when seed-time and harvest called them into the fields, and so it came to pass that Autumn was at the door before the caravansary was completed.[4] Having then been duly furnished in all its departments with an eye to the comfort of prospective travelers (we regret to state that excepting "four pewter plates, one tea-pot of pewter, three pairs of cups and saucers" and three utensils of earthenware, there is no specification of equipments on record) it was occupied on the 15th day of September by John Frederic

[4] It contained seven rooms, and one kitchen and cellar. Subsequently a stable of stone, thirty-two by twenty-six feet, and a spring-house of logs was built.

Schaub, a native of Zurich, Canton of Zurich, Switzerland, cooper, and Divert Mary, his faithful wife—the former covenanting to discharge the duties of a landlord blamelessly in consideration of the payment unto him annually of £10 lawful money of Pennsylvania.[5] Standing on the marches of the Province, if not on the confines of barbarism, its cheerful portals were ere long hailed by such as were journeying southward on the great Minisink road that since 1746 led from the farms and settlements dotting both shores of the upper Delaware down to the more populous portions of the Counties, and the great capital itself. Thus many a traveler, who longed for surcease from the toils of the way and for the rest and refreshment of an inn, found solace under the hospitable roof of the Inn whereof we write.

In this way "*Der neue Gasthof*," or "The Tavern behind Nazareth," as it was modestly called, grew in favor with the race of articulate men, and its achievements having been duly blazoned at the lists far and near, it was entitled to wear a coat-of-arms, which, on the 6th day of August, 1754, during the incumbency of John Frederic Schaub, cooper, and Divert Mary, his faithful wife, was charged with a full-blown scarlet rose. And hence, and ever afterwards, the house was known as "*Der Gasthof zur Rose*"—DIE ROSE—THE ROSE. Now this floral appellation was bestowed upon the lonely hospice not because its surcoat was dyed deep in Spanish red, not because it was hoped that in its presence the surrounding wilderness of scrub-oak and stunted pines would blossom

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[5] On November 27, there was purchased of George Bachman for the use of "The Tavern behind Nazareth," 2 Hhds of "boiled Syder" at 35s. £3. 10s.; and on December 29, Nazareth supplied the following articles:

10 bush. Oats, @ 1s. 6d	£1	19	
1 load Hay	1	10	
63 Loaves	3	3	
2½ bush. Meal		10	
67 lbs. Butter @ 6d	1	13	6
153 lbs. Meat @ 2d	1	5	6
6 lbs. Candles @ 8d		4	8
2 qts. Salt			3
5½ qts. Brandy		3	4½
1 Shovel (1s. 6d) 1 Grub hoe (6s)		7	6
1 Broom			3
Earthenware		4	
4 Blankets		2	8

like the queen of flowers, but in order to keep in lively remembrance a point of history—in so far as when John Penn, Thomas Penn, and Richard Penn, released to Letitia Aubrey of London, their half-sister, gentlewoman, the five thousand acres of land that had been confirmed to his trusty friend Sir John Fagg for her sole use and behoof, by William Penn, Sr., late Proprietary and Chief Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania by the name of William Penn of Worminghurst in the County of Sussex, Esquire, it was done on the condition of her yielding and paying therefor ONE RED ROSE on the 24th day of June yearly, if the same should be demanded, in full for all services, customs and rents.

Soon after this important event in the annals of the Inn (which, it should have been stated, made a deficit of £16. 17s. 4½d. for the fiscal year ending 31st December, 1753), a cloud began to gather along the Northern horizon of the Province, which, ere the lapse of a twelvemonth, rained down fire and blood. The French and Indians had taken the war-path and were moving against the defenceless frontiers. Schaub and Divert Mary, his faithful wife, and Johnny their son (the first child of white parents born at Nazareth) had bidden a reluctant farewell to "The Rose" on the 14th of August, 1754.[6] John Nicholas Weinland,[7] from Thuringenland, Saxe-Meinungen, farmer and musician, and Philippina, m. n. Lœsch, his wife, (a daughter of the patriarch George Lœsch of Gernsheim, near Worms, in the Palatinate, who lived to

[6] In 1755 Mr. Schaub removed to Bethabara, the first settlement made by the Moravians on their possessions in the Forks of the Gargalee or The Muddy Creek, lying within the limits of what was then Rowan County, North Carolina. He died at Bethany, a neighboring village, in 1801.

[7] Once in Philadelphia, whither Mr. Weinland had gone with the Bethlehem team, he was led by his love of music to enter a hall in which he heard some amateur musicians rehearsing. His intrusion, of course, arrested their attention, but Weinland, in his rustic garb and whip in hand, sat down not in the least disconcerted, and drank in the harmonies of sound that came from wind and stringed instruments. Shortly after, one of the performers stepped down from the platform to twit the countryman, but the latter was too artless to see the point of his jokes. On being asked, Weinland replied that he loved music and that he indulged occasionally in practicing it. This created some merriment. "Suppose you gratify us with a performance," said one. "Here is the violoncello, your favorite instrument," —offering him the bit of "jolly timber," and placing before him a piece of music upside down —"now play, and we can judge." Weinland, none abashed and conscious of his ability, allowed the sheet to remain as it had been placed on the music stand and played it perfectly.

be ninety-two years of age and to see gathered around him fifty grandchildren and fifty great-grandchildren), had administered its concerns from that date to the 11th day of December following;[8] and so it came to pass that the fury of this Indian War fell during the incumbency of Albrecht Klotz, last from Tolpehocken, but a native of Hohenlohe, in the Lower Palatinate, blacksmith, and Ann Margaret, m. n. Rieth, his faithful wife, born in Schoharie, a daughter of old Michael Rieth. How perilous the times that followed Mr. Klotz's entrance upon public life, and how urgent the necessity for the exercise of wisdom in the bestowing of offices of high trust whose betrayal might have endangered the integrity of the State, is left for the reader to infer from the following instrument, in which the Governor is seen invested with the powers usually delegated to the Courts of the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace, doubtless, *ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.* But the instrument reads verbatim, thus:

Whereas, Albrecht Klotz hath been recommended unto me as a sober and fit person to keep a house of entertainment, and being requested to grant him a license for the same, I do hereby license and allow the said Albrecht Klotz to keep a public house in the township of Lehigh[9] in the County of Northampton, for the selling of wine, rum, punch and other spirituous liquors, until the 10th day of August next: Provided, he shall not at any time in the said term suffer any drunkenness, unlawful gaming, or any other disorders, or sell any drinks to the Indians to debauch or hurt them; but in all things observe and practice all laws and ordinances of this Government to his said employment relating.

"Given under my hand and seal-at-arms, the 2d day of August, in the Twenty-ninth year of our Sovereign Lord and King George the Second, and in the year of our Lord One Thousand seven hundred and fifty-five.

ROBERT H. MORRIS,

Lieut. Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania

[L. S.] *and of the Counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware.*"

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[8] Mr. Weinland immigrated in 1749, and in December of that year settled in Nazareth. In 1756 he took charge of the farm at Gnadenthal where, after a service of twenty years, he died in January of 1777.

[9] Lehigh township was erected by the Court in September of 1754, and was defined by the same as extending "from the Lehigh River on the West, Eastwards along the foot of the Blue Hills to the old Minisink Road." At the same time its adjacents East as far as the line of Mount Bethel, received the name of Plainfield.

The cost of these letters patent was £1. 1s. 3d.; and the amount of County Tax five shillings on "3 acres cleared land, 2 acres sowed in, 1 *slave* and 1 cow."

It must here be added that Christian Stotz, from Laufen, Wurtemburg, farmer, and Ann, m. n. Herr, his wife, (they with three children had immigrated to the Province in 1750), last from Gnadenthal, were in April of 1755 associated with the Klotzes at "The Rose" to preside over its bureau of agriculture; and that Joseph, a negro from the Gold Coast, who since March 5, 1753, had been acting-hostler, returned to Bethlehem with his Indian wife Charity, at the critical juncture to which the current of this history has drifted.

On the 1st of November, 1755, sixty thousand persons perished violently in the City of Lisbon, as it was being shaken to its foundations by the unstable earth that reeled like a drunkard in his cups; and in the early morning of the 18th of November following, there was heard on the Barony, with a star-lit sky overhead, a sound as of a rushing wind and of the booming of distant siege guns—when lo! the doors in "The Rose" swung on their hinges, and stood open! Thus it is written in the book of our chronicles—and on its dusty pages it furthermore stands recorded, that the sleepers at the Inn on that frosty November morning, rocked in their beds as do mariners in hammocks out at sea. It would be presumptuous, perhaps, for the historian to endeavor to determine what was the connection between these far distant occurrences, so nearly synchronous and so like in character, although, fortunately for the inmates of "The Rose," unlike in degree and in effects.

Leaving men of science to conjecture or decide in the premises as they please, we will proceed to state, that seven days after these ominous forebodings, word was brought to Nazareth concerning the surprise and massacre of the Mission-family at the Mahoning, and on the evening of that seventh day, upwards of sixty terrified men, women and children from the adjacents North of the Barony thronged the doorway of the Moravian Inn, clamorous for shelter and for protection from the murdering Indians. Among these

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Plainfield township was organized in 1757. "The Rose Farm," in part, at the date of the above license lay in Lehigh; subsequently, however, in Plainfield and Bushkill townships.

fugitives were the Clevels[10] from the banks of the romantic Bushkill, and the Stechers (whose seedling apple is in high esteem to the present day), the Germantons, the Kœhlers, the Klæses and the Kostenbaders, all from the plains of upper Northampton, dwarf-oaked and slaty, and rich in pheasants and stemless cypripædia.

Such was the beginning of that precipitate evacuation of the frontiers, which culminated subsequent to the surprise at Frederick Hœth's[11] and the affair at Brodhead's—there being on the 17th

[10] Francis and George Clevel, sons of François and Louise Clevel, *née* Fraché, and grandsons of French Protestants who, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled from Dauphiny to the Palatinaté, immigrated to Pennsylvania with their widowed mother in the Autumn of 1737. They were born at Auerbach, in Baden-Durlach. While on ship-board, Francis, the older brother, was redeemed by a German farmer, on whose plantation in Oley, Berks County, he passed his servitude. Having married Salome Kichline in 1746, sometime thereafter he disposed of his cabin on the Oley Hills, and with his wife and infant daughter, Magdalene, removed to the wilds of Bucks County, locating on the Bushkill or Lehietan, about two miles North of Nazareth. Here he died in January of 1798, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was the father of *three sons and nine daughters*, and lived to see twenty-eight grand children and one great-grandchild. George Clevel died at Schœneck in May of 1793. He was the father of *nine sons and three daughters.* Daniel, one of the nine, was born in the house Ephrata, in February of 1756, while his parents were refugees at Nazareth.

The Moravian ministers who settled on the Barony preached statedly in Francis Clevel's house on the Bushkill, in the interval between the Spring of 1755 and the Autumn of 1762. Thereafter the Clevels attended divine worship in the chapel at Schœneck, and united with the Moravians. That quaint old building, high-roofed and girt with porches, which hangs on the declivity of the hill as you approach the Bushkill on your way to Bushkill Centre, popularly known as "*Das Schweitzerhaus,*" was built by Francis Clevel, Jr., *circa* 1776. Finally, it may interest one or another of her descendants to learn, that in the obituary record inscribed on the tombstone of Louise Clevel, m. n. Fraché, in the graveyard at Schœneck, it is said of her "*Sie war die Stammutter der zalreichen Clevels Familie.*"

[11] Head's Creek, a branch of the Pocopoco, perpetuates the name of the ill-fated settler. From a "*List of the Peoble which where killed and Taken Presoners by the Indians from Lechy River and Eastwards,*" compiled by Capt. Jacob Arndt, of the Province service, in December of 1757, we learn the casualties of the 10th of December, 1755, at Hœth's settlement to have been these, to wit: "Frederick haeth and his wife and one of his Dattears and another gerl both under eage and Two men more was killed, and Three dattears of Frederick haeth and the Smith wife and two childern them were Taken Presoner."

Frederic Hœth, and Johanette, his wife, immigrated to the Province in 1748, and in 1749 are registered as members of the Philadelphia congregation. May 17, 1750, he purchased 400 acres, and June 7, 300 acres of land at the Blue Hills. He removed to his plantation in 1752.

day of the eventful month of December, 1755, according to an official enumeration, two hundred refugees billeted at Nazareth and in the house Ephrata, and one hundred at the other settlements on the tract. It was as promiscuous an assemblage as ever had been gathered in so short a time, embracing men of diverse nationalities and creeds, and women of diverse tongues. There were the Eisenmanns, the Geislys, the Hecks, the Hesses, the Heisses, the Heimans, the Hoffmans, the Hueds or Huths, the Kunkles, the Schielses, the Serfases,[12] the Sylvases, and the Weisers, all from Contented Valley; the Culvers, and the Joneses[13] from McMichael's Creek; the Brewsters, the Countrymans,[14] and the Hillmans,[15] from Dansbury — and many others whose names, in questionable orthography, have been preserved for us and remotest posterity by some painstaking recorder of those stirring times.

In this way did "The Rose," during the winter of 1755 and 1756, exchange the character of an Inn for that of a city of refuge. It was for a time also a military post and suffered from military occupation. Now this occupation fell in the interval between the 26th day of November, 1755 and the 20th of February, 1756; and some of its incidents are the following:

In the evening of the aforementioned 26th of November, a company of Saucon Rangers, under command of Capt. Laubach,[16]

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[12] Philip Serfas and Mary Catharine, his wife, were members of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia. He assisted in building the church in that city in 1742. In June of 1750 he purchased 100 acres of land near Hœth's plantation, and removed thither in 1754. Died on his plantation in 1786. In 1870, the widow of his son Joseph was still living, in her eighty-third year, and was the mother of twenty-seven children, nearly all of whom were living.

[13] Francis and Rebecca Jones are registered as members of the congregation at Dansbury in 1747.

[14] Henry Countryman and Arianghy, *née* Keyser, his wife, are registered as members of the congregation in Dansbury, in 1747. She was born in Esopus in 1716, married in 1740, and died January 30, 1756. Her remains were buried in the so-called Indian Graveyard at Nazareth.

[15] John Hillman and Catharine, *née* Keyser, his wife, are registered as members of the Dansbury congregation, in 1747. She was born in Esopus, June, 1714; married February, 1734, and died at Nazareth, January 30, 1756. Her remains were buried at the same time with those of her sister (Arianghy Countryman) in the "Indian Graveyard." Samuel Hillman, their infant son, born November 13, 1755, and baptized December, 18th, by Jasper Payne, "Steward for the Refugees," died February 29, 1756.

[16] The Laubachs were settled on a branch of the Saucon Creek, called Laubach's Creek to this day, prior to 1740.

halted at the Inn, lit their camp-fires in the orchard, and bivouacked for the night. Having scoured the neighboring woods next day to no purpose, on their return to "The Rose" there came intelligence of the enemy's presence in the gap of the mountain, whereupon they broke camp at dusk, and by the friendly light of the full moon set out in pursuit. Meanwhile, two detachments of mounted men had arrived. These, however, failed to recognize any necessity for their presence and so, after having dined, departed. On the 14th of December, Captains Jennings[17] and Doll, at the head of their respective commands, passed "The Rose" *en route* for the scene of the late disaster at Hœth's, under orders to search for and bury the dead. Five days later, on their return from this dangerous anabasis, they posted Lieut. Brown with eighteen men at the Inn, for the defense of the Moravian settlements; and well it was, for that very night there were indications of savages lying perdu within gunshot of its doors. Capt. Craig, with a detachment of Ulster Scots from their seats on the Menagassi and the springs of Calisucks, arrived on the 21st, in order to assure himself of the safety of his Moravian neighbors, who it was rumored had been cut off by the enemy. Next followed Capt. Trump's and Capt. Ashton's companies of Provincials from the seat of Justice in a remote corner of the county hard by the Jerseys, their destination being Smithfield, and their errand the erection of a block-house within its limits. This was on the 26th of December, and the last movement of the military past "The Rose" in the year 1755.

In the first months of 1756, however, the halls of the hostelry again echoed to the tramp of martial feet, and perhaps never more loudly than during the occupation of the Nazareth tract by Capt. Isaac Wayne of Franklin's command, in the interval between the

[17] The same Solomon Jennings who, at sunrise on the 19th of September, 1737, set out with Edward Marshall and James Yeates from John Chapman's corner at Wrightstown, to walk for a wager and to walk off land for the Penns; but who, on arriving at a point two miles north of the Tohickon, about eleven o'clock of that memorable morning, desisted from the contest. Falling back into the curious crowd that followed in the wake of the walkers, Jennings parted company at the Fords of Lehigh (at the head of the Bethlehem Iron Company's island) and struck into the path that led to his farm (now Jacob Geisinger's) situate two miles higher up on the right bank of the river. Here he died on the 17th of February, 1757. The place of his interment is pointed out to this day near the site of his homestead (late Robert Yost's) on land which had once been part of the Proprietaries' well-known Manor of Fermor, or The Drylands.

5th and 15th days of January.[18] "You are upon your return from Depui's" (near the Water Gap or Pehoquehlin in the Minisinks) writes Governor Morris to the Captain—"to halt with your company at Nazareth and there to remain till further orders, taking care all the while to keep your men in good order, and to post them in such a manner as most effectually to guard and secure that place against any attack. Furthermore, you are to inform the men of your company that they shall receive a reward from the Government of forty pieces of eight for every Indian they shall kill and *scalp*, in every action they may have with them, which, I hereby promise to pay upon producing the scalps." In the ensuing weeks, there was constant intercourse between Nazareth and the men of war in Smithfield, detachments of Trump's men coming down from Fort Hamilton to convey supplies of bread, baked statedly in the large family oven on the Barony, to their hungry comrades. But the 17th of February was, perhaps, the most memorable day in the history of the military occupation of "The Rose," and in the experience of Albrecht Klotz, its sorely-tried landlord; for on that day he was necessitated to billet sixty soldiers who had been clamorous for bed and board at the already crowded Inn, on the Nazareth farm.[19] What was the occasion of this conflux of the sons of Mars

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[18] John Bauman, born in Conestoga about 1727, was the son of a Mennonite, Jan Bauman, with whom the Brethren had been acquainted in Lancaster County. Thence he removed to the Forks, where his father bought him a farm about five miles from Gnadenthal. His relations with the Brethren were most friendly. When the inroads of the Indians began, he was, January 2, 1756, while going to feed his cattle, shot and scalped by the Indians, and on the 18th his mutilated body was found by his father with an armed escort, and brought to Gnadenthal, thence conveyed to Nazareth, and buried in the "Indian Graveyard," on January 20.

[19] In the account of the "Rose Tavern with the Commissioners of the Province of Pennsylvania," we find the following entries relating to this stirring period in the history of the Nazareth tract, viz:

1756, Jany. 26,	To Smithy at Christian's Spring for sundry work,.....	£3	3		
" Febry. 5,	" meals furnished Capt. Ashton's company,.....	1	4		
" " 14,	" 25 men's eating and drinking, in command of Lieut. Anthony Miller,.....	1	10		
" " 18,	" 31 men's breakfasts of Capt. Trump's company,.....		15	6	
" " 19,	" meals furnished Capt. Arndt's company, in command of Ensign Nicholas Conrad,.....	1	10		
" " 19,	" meals and drams furnished Capt. Wetherhold's company,.....		15		

we have failed to learn; but after that day their calls at "The Rose" became less frequent, and gradually, though not uninterruptedly, its history's stream returned into the peaceful channel in which it had flowed in the days of John Frederick Schaub and Divert Mary, his faithful wife.[20]

On the 5th of April, 1756, Andrew Schober, a son of John and Catharine Schober, from Neuhofmansdorf, Jannowiz, Moravia, mason, and Hedwig Regina, m. n. Schubert, his wife, (the two had crossed the Atlantic in the "Little Strength," Capt. Nicholas Garrison, commander, in the Autumn of 1743, and were among the first Moravians who were settled at Nazareth) were duly installed at "The Rose," they having been appointed to succeed Albrecht and Margaret Klotz. In the second week of their novitiate a very destructive hail-storm swept over a belt of country in Northampton, including "the Rose-farm," and, as the meteorological display set

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1756, Febry. 23,	"700 lbs. bread delivered to Capt. W. Craig in Nazareth,.....	4	7 6
" March 26,	"200 lbs. bread delivered in Nazareth to Capt. Wetherhold,.....	1	5
		£14	10.

Gottlieb Senseman was baker-general at Nazareth.

[20] We have failed to learn aught of the subsequent career of Albrecht Klotz. His wife died at Nazareth in June of 1758. Probably he married a second time and thereupon—died. Lewis Klotz, a brother of our landlord, figures more conspicuously in the annals of the Province than in those of the Moravian Church. We find him, nevertheless, attached to the Moravians as early as 1745, and residing in the neighborhood of their settlement in what was then Macungy but subsequent to 1755, and still, Salisbury (Salzburg) township in Lehigh County. His children were educated at a school which the Moravians conducted in that rural district for the benefit of its people, in the interval between June of 1745 and June of 1754. This we infer from the following records that have come down to our times:

"August 11, 1746. Lewis Klotz's child died at Herzer's last Tuesday was seven-night, being the 5th of August;" and, "May 24, 1747, Received of Lewis Klotz towards paying of his children's board and schooling:

3 Cows,.....	£9	
2 Calves,.....		10
1 Mare and a little colt with a bell on the mare,.....	7	
1 Cow-bell,.....		5
	£16	15."

Lewis Klotz was for many years a Justice of the Peace for the County of Northampton, and some time a resident of Easton. The family name of Klotz is not yet extinct within the original limits of that now historic County.

in from the North, the unshuttered lights in the gable, looking to that cardinal point of the compass, were completely wrecked. Hartmann and Catharine Verdriess (of whom more hereafter) succeeded Christian[21] and Ann Stotz at the head of the bureau of agriculture on the 4th day of June,—during the night of the 6th and 7th of July, nine Provincials, each at a cost (it is recorded) of seven and six to its exchequer, stood guard around the house which was being threatened with investiture and siege by hostile Indians, and not five weeks after this crisis had been safely passed, Mr. Schober retired from the Inn. He resumed his trowel, assisted in pointing the walls of Nazareth Hall which he had in part erected; removed to Bethlehem, superintended the stone work at a buckwheat-mill,[22] built there in 1765 and 1766; and at the time of his death, in July of 1792, was the owner and occupant of a cottage (standing to this day on the corner of Market and Cedar Streets) which, it is said, was his own handiwork, and had been blocked up soon after the dissolution of the Economy. Four sons survived him, to wit: John Andrew, who was settled near Lititz, Lancaster County, Penna., at the date of his father's decease; Gottlob, at Salem, Forsyth County, North Carolina; Joseph, in the vicinity of Bethlehem; and Samuel, in Philadelphia. The late Samuel L. Shober, of the firm of Shober & Bunting, of Philadelphia, merchants, was a grandson of Andrew Schober of "The Rose."

Hartmann Verdriess, and Catherine, m. n. Bender, his wife, were the fifth couple to administer the affairs of our Inn. They occupied it on the 20th of August, 1756; and on the same day articles of agreement were drawn up and executed by George Klein, of Bethlehem, yeoman, in behalf of the Moravian Society, of the one part, and the aforementioned Hartmann Verdriess, last from the same place, miller, of the other part, in virtue of which

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[21] Christian Stotz died at Christian's Spring, in August of 1791.

[22] The buckwheat-mill at Bethlehem was the master-piece of an ingenious millwright, Christian Christiansen by name. It was originally a combination of mills, there being works for grinding flax-seed and pressing oil, for hulling barley, spelt and millet, for splitting peas, for stamping and rubbing hemp, and for grinding oat-meal, and bark for the tannery. Subsequently there was a snuff-mill inserted, and a run of stones for buckwheat. The buckwheat flour ground by these stones gradually gained an enviable reputation for quality, whereupon "Bethlehem Buckwheat Flour" was annually thrown into the market in quantity which far exceeded the working capacity of the modest mill in any one season.

agreement the latter assumed the responsibilities of landlord at "The Rose," in tenancy under the former, at the annual rental of £8 Penna. cy. Hence it was in order, that the license for the year ending with the 18th day of June, 1758, as well as the licenses for all other years pending the duration of said covenant, should have been granted in Mr. Klein's name. The above specified license is extant, and reads as follows:

"At a Court of General Quarter Sessions of the Peace held at Easton, for the County of Northampton, the 21st day of June, 1754, upon the petition of George Klein for a license to sell beer and cyder by small measure in the township of Plainfield, the said Court do allow and license the said George Klein to sell beer and cyder by small measure, until the 18th day of June next ensuing, he observing the laws and ordinances of this Province, which are and shall be made relating to retailers of beer and cyder by small measure."

From the tenor of this license, it is inferable that a restriction had been laid by some one and for some reason not yet ascertained, upon the sale at "The Rose" of beverages indicating by hydrometric measurement a percentage of alcohol greater than is ordinarily present in either beer or cider.

An inventory taken of the goods and chattels found in the house on the day of its occupation by the Verdriesses, viz.: on the 20th of August, 1756, it may interest some antiquary to know, amounted to £63. 16. 8.; the license, £2. 5. 9.; and the county tax, 18 shillings.

Hartmann Verdriess, the fifth landlord of our Inn, is not without celebrity in early Moravian history; yet of the place of his nativity and the year of his immigration we confess entire ignorance, meeting him for the first time in 1745, when he was an inhabitant of Warwick township, Lancaster County. Thence he removed to Bethlehem, and kept "The Crown" (the inn stood over against that place on the right bank of the Lehigh), in the interval between November of 1747 and March of 1748—when and where he was the associate of Jost Vollert, John Adam Schaus, and other worthies of those almost fabulous times. Next he was miller at the Friedensthal mill,[23] which ground its first grist on the 20th of

[23] In January of 1750, the Moravians took in hand the erection of a grist-mill for the convenience of their people at Nazareth, on a newly purchased piece of land, watered by the Bushkill or Lehietan, touching the Barony on the East, and

August, 1750,—and subsequently miller at the old Bethlehem mill, which went up in flames in a green old age on the night of the 26th and 27th of January, 1869. From Bethlehem he was summoned to "The Rose," over whose destinies he presided for upwards of three years. Some of the facts and incidents of this eventful triennium are the following:

Among the refugees at Nazareth was one of the Joneses,—Francis Jones—who had fled with the Culvers from Smithfield, on the 11th of December, 1745. This Jones has time and again been projected upon the screen by historical lecturers, but invariably, according to concurrent testimony of diverse intelligent audiences,—out of focus. It may gratify those, perhaps, to have him presented in somewhat clearer outline and as a well-defined, veritable personage in history. Prior to 1742, then, we are pleased to be able to state, he resided in Elizabeth Town in East Jersey. Thence he removed with his wife Rebecca and Polly, their daughter, to Smithfield or Dansbury, as the Brodhead settlement in that township was locally called. Here he became acquainted with the Moravians, and in 1747 was enrolled among the membership of the rural congregation which these indefatigable missionaries had gathered in the Minisinks.[24]

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adjacent to lands of Johannes Lefevre and Tatamy, a Delaware Indian. It was part of a great tract of 5,000 acres granted by William Penn in October of 1681 to Lawrence Growdon, then of the parish of St. Anstell, in the hundred of Powder, County of Cornwall. By him it was conveyed in 1707 to his grandson Lawrence Growdon, Jr., then of the parish of St. Merryn, in the hundred of Pyder, County of Cornwall. Growdon, Jr., conveyed 550 acres of this great tract to William Allen, of Philadelphia, merchant, in August of 1740, and from Allen, the above mentioned parcel of 324 acres, "situate on branches of Leheitan," was purchased by Henry Antes, for the use of the Moravians. In April of 1751, the improvement (up to that time called simply "the new plantation on the Kill,") received the name of Friedensthal. It was stockaded in the Summer of 1756 with a large but slight stockade, about 400 feet one way and 250 the other, with log-houses at the corners for bastions. In 1767 the Moravians let, and in 1771 disposed of the property. On the erection of the present stone-mill (Mann's Mill) by Jacob Eyerly in 1796, its predecessor was converted into a dwelling, which, it is said, was demolished about 1835, its stones and timbers in part being conveyed to Stockertown, and there built up a second time into a mill. Friedensthal, during its palmy days, was as charming a settlement as were Gnadenthal and Christian's Spring, and like them both grange and thorpe.

[24] Six years subsequently, viz., in May of 1753, the Moravians completed a meeting-house for the use of their adherents in Smithfield and its adjacents. It was built on a plot of three and a half acres of land situated on the West bank of the Analomink (near the Iron Bridge), said land having been conveyed to Bishop

His daughter was sometime an inmate of the Moravian school in Walpack, on the Jersey shore of the Delaware, and soon after her parents' flight to "The Barony," was placed in the house for Single Sisters at Bethlehem, in which institution she died in 1762. Jones was an inmate of "The Rose" as late as the 17th of August, 1756. Returning to Smithfield he entered the Province service, and in January of 1758 we find him in Capt. Nelson's command, posted at Dietz's [25] near the Wind Gap.

On the 31st of December, 1756, there were thirteen souls billeted in "The Rose" and in the small log-house on the farm. Ten of these were from Allemængel (Lynn township, Lehigh County) on the confines of Egypt. In addition to Gottlieb Demuth's entire family, there were several Volcks [26]; among the latter, Daniel Volck.

Spangenberg by Daniel Brodhead, in August of 1752. Both house and mission, however, were thereafter short-lived, for when in the Autumn of 1755 the Indians overran the Minisinks, the little log-church was fired by the savages, (December 14th), the missionaries barely escaping with their lives, with loss, however, of all their personal effects.

[25] Like many other German names occurrent in records of Colonial times, this one of *Dietz* is almost completely masked in the orthography it has received in English hands. It is variously written, thus—*Teets*, ("Ensign Sterling with eleven men posted at Wind Gap, Teet's house")—*Diedts*, ("Capt. Garroway with twenty-seven men at Diedt's house")—*Teads* ("Lieut. Hyndshaw at Tead's block-house"); and also *Tidd*. In the Proprietary Accounts of 1750 one Adam Dietz is charged with "25 acres of land near Geo. Behringer's at the Blew Hills above the Forks, in trust for a Calvenistic [*sic*] Congregation." Lewis Gordon, Esq., of Easton, who in the Autumn of 1763 raised an independent company of horse, was ordered by the Governor to *Heller's, late Teets' Gap*; and in June of 1764, "Capt. Rinker with thirteen men was posted at Simon Heller's near Wind Gap." It was therefore about the year 1760 that the Hellers, from Saucon, came into possession of the well-known tavern-stand (late Stotz's) in Plainfield township, which for almost a century bore their name.

[26] The ancestor of the Volcks, whose family-tree, prior to 1750, overshadowed a goodly portion of the barrens of Allemængel, was Andries Volck, born near old Worms, in 1678. He and Ann Catharine, his wife, and sons and daughters, belonged to a company of fifty-two German Protestants whom, with their minister, one Joshua Kocherthal, Queen Anne was graciously pleased to send to New York and settle at her own expense, in the Autumn of 1708. They pitched their tents first on Quasseck Creek (now Chambers' Creek, near Newburgh), in the Highlands, at a place called by the Dutch, "*De Dans Kammer*," it being here that the aborigines were wont to hold worship and dance in honor of the devil. Hence the Volcks removed to Allemængel, *circa* 1755. There Andries died, in September of 1747, four sons—Andrew, Charles, Jacob, and George—surviving their father, and themselves, in due time, the heads of prosperous families.

It was he who subsequently (1760) swept chimneys on "The Barony;" but growing inconveniently corpulent, after having initiated several boys into the mysteries of the black art, he was advised to resign in their favor.

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 5th of July, 1757, the mortal remains of Susan Wickel (she had come with George Volck's family from Allemængel, and had but lately entered Verdriess's employ in the capacity of maid-servant,) were carried out from "The Rose" for burial. Fearful of an ambush, as a token indicative of mischief on the part of hostile Indians had been discovered on the day before, the funeral procession moved under an escort of armed men to the place of sepulture, which was an enclosure on high ground, in the very heart of the woods, a full mile to the Southwest of the Inn. This was the last interment but one in that ancient cemetery, which had lain unused and neglected over one hundred years, when in June of 1867, a memorial stone was erected on its site by the Moravian Historical Society to rescue it from irretrievable loss and to keep alive the remembrance of what had been transacted within its once sacred precincts. But this first repository for the dead who died on "The Barony," is now known as "The old Indian Graveyard"—probably because of its association in the minds of men with the troublous times of the Indian war and not because red-men only were here gathered to their fathers.[27]

It behooves us, in the next place, to advert briefly to two phenomena of celestial origin which were observed at "The Rose," as well as elsewhere, in the Summer of 1757. The one was a total eclipse of the moon on the 30th of July; the other a total eclipse of the sun, on the 14th of August following. Pursuant to orders from headquarters, Mr. Verdriess took the precaution on the last mentioned day to house the cattle in his keeping before the obscuration should have shrouded them, their instincts and all things else in bewildering darkness. But the patriarch of the herd, too old to be lured into durance by the sprinkling of salt, continued at large, heightening by his lamentations the terrors of the awful gloom.

Owen Rice from Haverford West, North Wales, who with other Moravian colonists, bound for the new world, had sailed from

[27] In fact we know of but four interments of Indians made on these grounds.

Gravesend, in the "Catharine," Capt. Thomas Gladman, commander, in March of 1742,[28] set out the first orchard at Nazareth in April of 1745. Others emulating him in so important and so entirely disinterested a labor of love,—the farms on the tract were ere long embowered in apple-trees, and these thriving, cider was pressed on "The Barony" for the first time in August of 1755.[29] In September of 1757 the orchards, it is recorded, hung full,—all grafted fruit—and there was promise of a large ingathering. But the apples were ripening in lawless times, and it soon appeared that unless some positive means were taken to check the depredations committed on these Hesperian gardens, little of the goodly yield would fall to the share of those to whom it rightly belonged. Hence the following "Caution" was displayed in the tap-room at "The Rose:"

"This is to notify whom it may concern, that in these uncertain times, the watch will set their dogs on, or, if need be, fire upon all persons, whether white or Indian, who shall be found trespassing in the orchards at Nazareth, Gnadenthal, Christian's Spring, Friedensthal—or 'The Rose.'"

It was argued that the warning would be most likely to catch the eyes of offenders at "The Rose;" the precaution was nevertheless taken to post duplicates of the ordinance in the Friedensthal mill, and in the smith's shop at the "Spring."

There is a waif of Provincial history which claims the reader's consideration at this point of the narrative. On the 16th of September of the above mentioned year, 1757, while one Joseph Keller (who brought butter to the Bethlehem market as early as 1746, always receipting payment for the same with a boldly drawn J. K.,) was assisting his neighbors in plowing, three Indians surprised his farm-house, which stood about five miles North by East from Nazareth, in Plainfield township, and carried off his wife and three children. The fourth, however, an infant of six months, they left lying in the cradle (for it was found in the same position in which it had last been put down by the mother), touching not even a hair of its little head. Intelligence of this irruption of Ishmaelites

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[28] Mr Rice returned to England in 1744, and died at Gomersal, wapentake of Morely, West Riding of the County of York, in 1788.

[29] For an enumeration of the fruit-bearing trees on "The Barony," see "A Sketch of the Barony of Nazareth" in the Appendix.

having been duly brought to Bethlehem and communicated to old Gideon Tadeuskundt, the Delaware King—he, the King, despatched three Indians and two whites to Keller's to ascertain whether any of his liegemen had been privy to the high-handed outrage. As their way led past "The Rose," Justice Timothy Horsfield of Bethlehem very considerately furnished the five with a curt letter of recommendation to its worthy host, as follows:

"To Hartmann Verdriess at 'The Rose' by Nazareth:

Pray let the bearers. Jacob Volck and Levi Jung and three Indians have such refreshments as is needful; but don't let them have much liquor, and send me an account of what they receive that I may charge it.

HORSFIELD."

BETHLEHEM, 18 Sept. 1757.

Thus the Province became indebted to our Inn to the amount of ten shillings and nine pence,—the voucher for said indebtedness being extant and couched in these words:

"*Province of Pennsylvania, Dr.:*

To Sundries delivered at Nazareth Tavern to Jacob Volck, Lewis Jung and three Indians who was sent by Tadeuskundt to Joseph Keller's place to satisfy him of the truth of Keller's wife and children being taken captive, viz.:

1757, Sept. 18.	To victuals and drink,.....	£ 4	10
" " 18.	" ½ peck of oats,.....		6
" " 19.	" victuals and drink,.....	4	11
" " 19.	" ½ peck of oats,.....		6
		£ 10	9

HARTMANN VERDRIESS."

Altogether different in character, though forsooth a record of blood, is the following item of particular history. In December of 1757, the residents of the adjacents of Nazareth were duly notified, that such of them as desired to be bled (it was in a time when venesection was in vogue), should no longer repair to Bethlehem to Dr. Otto, nor to Nazareth Hall,[30] to the room of Joseph Miller,

[30] Nazareth Hall, designed for the residence of Count Zinzendorf, who was expected to become an inhabitant of the Province for a second time, was brought under roof in less than five months, to wit: in the interval between the 3d of May and the 24th of September, 1755. The noble structure, as imposing and as architecturally faultless as any that was erected by the Moravians in the new world,—was the conception of the same Carl Schultz who drafted our "Rose." One Tobias Hirte, else unknown to fame, was the master-carpenter or the superin-

practitioner in physic, as had heretofore been done to the annoyance of the household; but, instead, should rendezvous at "The Rose," where the said Joseph Miller, practitioner in physic, would within certain hours on certain days of every month give audience in the "great room" to as many as desired to consult him professionally in the vital matter of venesection.

The last event of importance that occurred in our Inn in the year 1757, was the arrival on the 8th day of December, of an utterly helpless and destitute stranger. This brought joy to the hearts of both host and hostess, and to remind the little daughter ever afterwards of the place of her advent, she was called Rosina, *i. e.*, "the little Rose," or, if you choose, "the Rose-bud."

On the 12th of April, 1758, the Inn was for a time in imminent danger of being consumed by a "bush-fire," which swept recklessly down the adjacent barrens before a stiff North-wester; and on the 28th of same month, we find the brothers Francis and George Clevel with their families, refugees for the fourth time, under the shelter of its protecting wings. Their stay, however, was short, for the savages soon withdrew; then was a season of rest for the settlements lying South of the Mountains; and so it came to pass that Hartmann and Catherine Verdriess and Rosina their daughter

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tendent of construction. Working harmoniously under his guidance were representatives of seven nationalities, to wit: Englishmen, Welshmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Bohemians, Danes, and a native of the Guinea Coast.

The building was brought under roof, as has just been stated, on the 24th of September, 1755. All further work was thereupon suspended, (this was on the eve of the Indian war) and a full year elapsed before the completion of the chapel, which was dedicated to the worship of God on the 13th of November, 1756. In this chapel the Moravians at Nazareth met for divine worship for almost a century.

Count Zinzendorf failing to come to America a second time, the house was converted to other uses. On the 27th of November, 1756, David and Regina Heckewelder (the parents of John Heckewelder, the well-known missionary and writer on Indian antiquities) and George Volck's family, refugees from Allemængel, occupied apartments in the still unfinished building. They were the first tenants of Nazareth Hall. Joseph Miller, M.D., and Verona, his wife, (the couple had immigrated in May of 1749) took possession of a suite of rooms on the second floor, in April, and Bishop Spangenberg and Mary, his wife, of another, in June of 1757. Such was the fame of this majestic pile, the pride of "The Barony," that Gov. Denny, during the sessions of an Indian conference which had convened in Easton, rode up to Nazareth on the 19th October, 1758, specially to view it. The "Boarding School for Young Gentlemen at Nazareth Hall," dates back to the 3d of October, 1785.

were the sole occupants of the house on the last day of 1758. Three months thereafter their administration closed.[31]

Of Mr. Verdriess's subsequent career, we have gleaned the following items. In 1760 he was miller at Friedensthal for a second time; in 1766 he removed with his family to Maryland, settling near the Moravian tract in Frederick County, and here he died in 1774. His wife returned to Bethlehem, and died in 1801. Peter Verdriess (Vandriess) a grandson of the old landlord of "The Rose," was an eminent classical teacher in Philadelphia between 1815 and 1825.

The sixth in the succession of landlords at "The Rose" was Ephraim Culver, (he was born on the 30th of July, 1717, in the town of Lebanon, Connecticut, and was the ancestor of the Culvers of Plainfield and Hanover), last from Smithfield, miller. As near as we can ascertain, this redoubtable Boniface was installed at the Inn about the time of the vernal equinox of 1759, and with the aid and counsel of his wife Elizabeth, m. n. Smith, from "The Oblong" in the Province of New York, conducted its affairs acceptably for the six years next ensuing. Of Mr. Culver's career prior to his introduction to the reader as head of our Inn, we are in possession of the following particulars. He left Connecticut for Pennsylvania in 1753, and settled upon a small glebe he had purchased of old Daniel Brodhead, in Lower Smithfield. Here he built him a grist-mill (its site is now within the limits of the borough of Stroudsburg) on the banks of McMichael's Creek—and looked forward, no doubt, to years of peaceful industry, and then—retirement from business and rest in the evening of life. But this prospect was rudely marred, when on the 11th of December, as he was fleeing with wife and children before the destroying Indians, he saw a cloud of smoke ascend from the site of his house and mill. Then he knew their doom was sealed. With others of his neighborhood, he sought, as we have seen, an asylum at Nazareth. There he united with the Moravians,—there he indentured his son Ephraim (who died in Schœneck in September of 1804) to the miller at Friedensthal,—there he lost his daughter Sarah in May of 1756, (she lies buried on the old "Indian Graveyard")—and there he quietly awaited the development of events until, in October of the last mentioned year, he was tendered the position of

[31] "The Rose" on December 31, 1758, was inventoried at £250.

landlord at "The Crown." Mr. Culver's experience at that notable hostelry fills a leaf in the book of Colonial history. It fell in those eventful years in which Tadeuskundt and his hangers-on were constantly on the wing between Fort Allen and Easton, and Easton and Fort Allen—playing at "toss and catch" with Governor Denny and his men of state, or beguiling them at numberless treaties and conferences, by soft words and the music of Indian oratory, into a hope for peace—when there was war. And ever and anon did these ghastly, gaunt, and ominous birds light in a flock at "The Crown," invade the sanctity of the landlord's private apartments, the tap-room and the larder, and clamor for victuals and drink in guttural Minsi and euphonious Nanticoke. They would come at all hours of the day, and even the midnight air was known to sound with the rustling of their wings. There was no liquor, simple or compound, currently used in that day by the whites but what was called for by these thirsty Indians. Witness the importunate demands of Peepy and Montour, two runners, who, before setting out on a distant mission in January of 1757, indulged in diverse pints and half-pints of wine, in quarts of cider, in drams and hot drams, in mim[32] and in rum, and departed only after having come into possession of "a quart of rum and ye bottle." Such was the school in which Mr. Culver was disciplined in patience and in the lesser arts of his calling; and occasional intercourse with dignitaries like Conrad Weiser, Capt. Jacob Arndt, Hugh Crawford, and George Croghan, and with Moses Tattamy, Paxanosa, and French Margaret, Indian kings and queens—also fitted him to acceptably conduct the affairs of the "The Rose." During the six years of his incumbency—he was absent but once, for a period of five weeks, when Peter Braun and his wife, from Gnadenthal, attended to its concerns—its current flowed smoothly in a channel unruffled by rift or riffle. Such was the case, save in the Autumn of 1763, when a second war with the Indians was imminent, and cismontane Northampton again suffered from invasion.

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[32] "Mim," abbreviated from "mimbo," a drink prepared from rum, water and loaf sugar, as appears from the following "rates in Taverns," fixed by the Justices of York County, Pennsylvania, in January of 1752, "for the protecting of travelers from the extortions of inn-holders."

1 qt. mimbo, made of West India rum and loaf,.....10d.
1 qt. " " New England rum and loaf,..... 9d.

The earnings of the Inn for the fiscal year ending June 1, 1760, despite "the loss on two quarter pieces of eight and a Spanish pistole," amounting to 9d., the low rate for lodging—one George Hartmann was charged but 16s. 8d. for ten months' rent of a room —the county tax 13s. 6d. and for the license £2. 8. 6., was £63. 11. 7. The year following two roads were cut, one through the woods to Schœneck, and the other in a Northwest direction to George Culver's place near the mountains.

In April of 1763, William Edmonds, a native of Coleford in the parish of Newland, hundred of St. Briavells, County of Gloucester, leather-dresser—he had immigrated to the Colonies in 1736, and had become attached to the Moravians in New York—became an inmate of "The Rose," prior to taking charge of a store which was in course of erection a few rods South of the Inn-garden on the Minisink road. It is proper to state, that for several years prior to the erection of this store, Mr. Culver had carried on a brisk business with the Indians for deer-skins on behalf of "old Kornmann, ye skinner at Bethlehem." But in December of 1762, it was thought best to establish the traffic on a basis of its own, and for the accommodation of the neighboring settlers. The storehouse was built of unhewn logs, 30 by 30 feet, was one story in height, and contained a dwelling-room, kitchen, and two cellars, in addition to the store-room. Mr. Edmonds was appointed store-keeper at a salary of £65 per annum, including rent and firewood. His letter of attorney from Nathaniel Seidel reads as follows:

"Whereas, Application has been made to me through the Deacons of Bethlehem by certain inhabitants of Nazareth, of Plainfield, and of Smithfield townships, that a Repository of goods might be placed at a more convenient distance than to come quite to Bethlehem, and for as much that of many years' experience William Edmonds, late storekeeper in Bethlehem, has approved himself to be a careful and upright dealer—Know ye: That reposing special trust and confidence in his well and prudent management for said Deacons and the County, I do hereby constitute, empower and appoint him, the said William Edmonds, to be storekeeper or factor at the house lately erected for that purpose in Plainfield township, in the County of Northampton, and Province of Pennsylvania."

On the completion of this place of traffic, it was stocked with diverse merchandise to the amount of £360. 5. 3¼; and the hostelry

gradually assumed the character of a mart. This was especially so in the interval between 1765 and 1772, when the Moravian Indians from Wyalusing and others from places as remote as Sheshequin, Shamunk and Owego, came to the store to barter skins, deer's-fat and wooden-ware for strouds and half-thicks, and powder and lead. To the well-thumbed blotter kept in that interval of time by Mr. Edmonds we are indebted for the following names of the copper-colored habitués of his place of business in old Plainfield: John Papoonhank, Sam Evans, Lame Thomas, Black Wampum, James Logan, Ahendock, "the Indian with one eye," Nanticoke Sam, John Montour, Job Chillaway, Balzer Patterson, Weschachelawal, "a short young fellow from Shamunk," and Jemmy from Welawamink. On the 11th of June, 1767, the building was struck by lightning and slightly damaged. Mr. Edmonds relinquished his position at "The Rose" store, October 26, 1772,[32] to take charge of the store in the village of Nazareth, to which its stock and fixtures were removed. Here he died in September of 1786, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Twice during his long life he had been sent to the Provincial Assembly by old Northampton, and was a whole-souled patriot in the struggle for American Independence.

Several allusions having been made in the course of this narrative to "the Rose-farm," it may be well to dispossess the reader of any erroneous preconception in reference to its extent. It was never, within the period of time whereof this history treats, other than a small glebe, with sufficiency of arable land and meadow to supply the house with bread and a few cows with pasture and hay. Would any one, however, be fully informed respecting the details of its agricultural department, he may consult the annual assessments of the Inn for County and Province taxes still extant, and the following inventory, furthermore, which discloses the very penetralia of the goodly house.

Inventory of The Stock in The Rose Inn,

31st May, 1764, amounting to £64. 15. 7.

20 bush. of rye, @ 2s. 9d.....	£2	15	
15 bush. of oats, @ 2s.....	1	10	
2 bush. of buckwheat, @ 1s. 8d.....		3	4
150 lbs. of pork, @ 6d.....	3	15	

[32] It was subsequently conducted by his son, John A. Edmonds, for Dorst Alleman. Before the close of the century (we have failed to ascertain the year), the building was struck by lightning and totally consumed.

10 lbs. of butter, @ 6d		5				
10 lbs. of cheese, @ 9d		7	6			
15 lbs. of tallow, @ 7d		8	9			
6 lbs. of lard, @ 6d		3				
32 galls. of soft soap, @ 8d	1	1	4	£9	8	11
2 hhds. of cider, @ 30s	3					
28 galls. Barbadoes Rum, @ 4s. 1d	5	14	4			
23 galls. of New England Rum, @ 3s.	3	9				
15 galls. of Metheglin, @ 1s		15				
10 galls. of Teneriffe,[34] @ 5s. 6d	2	15		15	13	4
17 yds. linen of flax, @ 3s	2	11				
10 yds. linen of tow, @ 1s. 8d		16	8			
2¾ yds. of cloth, @ 3s. 6d		9	7½			
Yarn		2	6	3	19	9½
½ load of hay	£	19				
3 cows, @ £4. 10s	13	10				
2 calves, @ 10s	1					
2 hogs	1			16	9	
½ lb. of powder		1	6			
1 iron kettle received for a debt	1	2	6			
Sundry small outstanding debts	11	2	7			
Cash on hand	4	8		16	14	7
2 acres sowed in oats, @ 12s	1	4				
4 bush. oats sowed in, @ 2s		8				
¼ acre sowed in flax		5				
¼ bush. of flax seed		1				
½ acre of Indian Corn		12		2	10	
				£64	15	7[35]

[34] That genial poet, humorist and divine, the Rev. Philip C. Bader (he was a native of Hangenbietenheim near Strasburg, Alsace, and sometime a student of theology at Jena), in the course of a rhythmical narrative of an eight weeks' passage across the Atlantic in the Autumn of 1751, sings at large of the peak of Teyde on Teneriffe, in the shadow of whose cone ripened the generous wine which was tippled at "The Rose." His daughter Julia, while an inmate of the Single Sisters' House, Bethlehem, assisted in embroidering a banner for General Count Pulaski, who was recruiting for his legion from the yeomanry of Bucks and Northampton.

[35] It was not uncommon for Nazareth to furnish the Inn with supplies of "Fresh Beef and Hard Soap," during certain months of the year, as the accounts, which landlord Culver was instructed to render monthly, attest.

The 4th of April, 1765, was perhaps the most memorable day at the Inn during the incumbency of Ephraim Culver. In the forenoon of that day the precincts of the house were suddenly thronged by a motley crowd of Indians, men, women and children, numbering upwards of one hundred and seventy souls, whose appearance and equipments indicated them to be a people migrating in search of new homes. They were the Moravian Indians, who had but recently been released from the Barracks at Philadelphia, on their way to Wyalusing. Thus far they had journeyed under escort, and protected by the strong arm of the law; and here they took sad leave of the people among whom their lot had been cast for upwards of twenty years.

Two weeks after this event Mr. Culver, having accepted the appointment of landlord at "The Crown" for a second time, retired from "The Rose." The transfer of his personal effects to his new home near Bethlehem, was made on the 19th day of April, at a cost of ten shillings, which was generously borne by "The Rose," we are fully authorized to state. "The Crown" he managed until the decease of his wife in 1771. In the following year he became a resident of Schœneck, and there married widow Mary C. Claus, of whom mention has been made elsewhere in these memoirs, and died at Bethlehem in March of 1775.

John and Mary Catharine Lischer were installed at "The Rose" on the 20th of April, 1765, and administered its concerns until the 30th of March, 1772.

Mr. Lischer was the last in the succession of its landlords. With his retirement on the 30th of March, 1772, it ceased to be an Inn; for in 1771 the house and its adjacents, (which at that time embraced a tract of two hundred and forty acres, touching the headline of the Barony and situate in Plainfield township,) were sold[36] by the "headmen and the Bishop" to Dorst Alleman, a native of the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, but prior to 1761 an inhabitant of Lancaster County, yeoman, and confirmed to him by indenture bearing date of 17th October, 1783.

It was Alleman, therefore, who plucked the rose from the old ancestral tree.

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[36] 1771. "*Jany.* 17. 'The Rose' and two hundred acres of land adjacent are to be sold. For the *whole* improvement we ask £500 stg."

Dorst and Verona, his wife, took possession on the 1st of April, 1772. In anticipation of this change, the Inn was stripped of its glories. Yet even in its decadence the goodly house was honored; for in September of 1772, Governor Richard Penn, son of Richard Penn, son of William Penn by Hannah Callowhill, of Bristol, passed a week under its roof, while relaxing from the cares of state in shooting grouse on the neighboring barrens. Mr. Watson tells us that the Governor "was in person of the middle size, reserved in manners and very near-sighted;" whence it is inferable that the slaughter of grouse, as far as he was individually concerned, was likely not great; and that being an English gentleman of the old school, he may have relished the sport and have been benefited, too, by the country air and country living.

Dorst Alleman died at his mansion, late "The Rose," in March of 1803.

Christoph Benedict Benade,[37] of Plainfield township, japanner and goldsmith, sole executor of the last will and testament of Dorst Alleman, confirmed "The Rose tract" of 171 acres, 107 perches, to Mattes Alleman, of the aforesaid township, yeoman, only son and residuary legatee and devisee of the aforesaid Dorst, by indenture bearing date of December 28, 1803. Mattes Alleman died in December of 1819. His executors, Molly Alleman and John A. Edmonds,[38] sometime after exposing seventy-eight acres, strict measure, of the original tract (including "The Rose,") for sale at vendue or public outcry, these were purchased by George Gold,[39] of Bushkill township, yeoman, for thirteen hundred and twelve dollars and seventy-seven cents, and confirmed to him by indenture bearing date of the 17th of April, 1826.

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[37] Christoph Benedict Benade, was born at Milkel, near Bautzen, in Upper Silesia, in September of 1752, and was the fifth son of Pastor John Benade of Klix, near Bautzen. He immigrated in 1793, and in December of that year married Elizabeth, the third daughter of Dorst Alleman, and Verona, m. n. Joke, his wife. He was sometime a resident of Nazareth, but died in Filetown, near Schœneck, in 1841.

[38] A son of William Edmonds. Born on Long Island in May of 1743, died in Plainfield township in April of 1824.

[39] A son of George Gold, (the ancestor of the Moravian family of Golds), a native of Zauchtenthal, who immigrated in 1748, and died at Old Nazareth in 1792, leaving two sons and four daughters. George, the proprietor of "The Rose," was born at Gnadenthal, where his father was settled for a number of years, in 1765.

George Gold and Rosina his wife, conveyed the premises to David Gold, of Bushkill township, yeoman, in February of 1831, for two thousand dollars. By David Gold and Mary his wife, they were conveyed to Gideon Haupt, of Bushkill township, yeoman, in April of 1840, for forty-four hundred and ten dollars. Thus like old wine (mellowed) did the lapse of years enhance the value of the pile!

Mrs. Louisa Reinheimer (a daughter of Gideon Haupt), the present holder, came into possession of the property in April of 1865.

In conclusion, we would state, that in the Spring of 1858 the olden hostelry was doomed to destruction. Its chimneys were torn down, its roof was removed, its floors torn up, but the gables of the tenant-house which stands on its site, are covered with boards that survived the wreck; sole remaining, but alas! withered leaves shed from the Red Rose that once bloomed on the Barony of Nazareth. Perhaps its sign board like that of "The Mermaid," "flew away" and perhaps even now "under a new-old sign" its quondam friends are

> "sipping beverages divine
> And pledging with contented smack,
> The Red Rose in the Zodiac!"

Our personal recollections of "The Rose" extend over a period of time exceeding what is allotted to one generation of mortal men. In that interval it suffered no perceptible change. It failed even to grow older. From first to last it was the same tall, spectral-looking mansion, clad in a coat of faded Spanish-red; standing, indeed, no longer on a highway linking the capital of a Province with its frontiers, but on a by-way in a secluded and forsaken corner of what had been part of the Barony of Nazareth. Its barns were rickety, its cider-press was ancient, its fruit-trees were mossy; and yet from first to last they suffered no preceptible change—they failed to grow older. In men's minds the house was vaguely associated with a long past Indian age. They spake of its having been beleaguered, and pointed to the knot-holes in the shrunken weather-boarding as the work of balls from savage rifles. They spake of its precincts as having been the homes of successive generations of red men, and testified to their former presence with arrow-heads and tomahawks of stone, gleaned from the neighbor-

ing fields. And there were even some who stated that the old "Red Rose" had been planted on haunted ground; and down to the year of its demolition there might be heard in the time of the September moon, as soon as its beams began to silver the veil of mist that hangs nightly over the milk-house in the meadow, the voice of a horseman on the upland chiding his loitering steed in an unknown tongue—it being the spirit of the bold Minsi from Peoqueahlin, carrying off the stolen daughter of Taghtapasset, the Delaware King of Welagamika.[40]

Here end the chronicles of "The Rose."

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[40] The name of the Indian town that stood on the Barony of Nazareth, in the meadows North by East from the Whitefield House, on its first visitation by the Moravians, in the Spring of 1740. The word Welagamika is compounded from *whe-lik*, and *ha-ga-mi-ka*, words in the Unami Delaware, signifying *the best of tillable land.*

The Old Inn at Nazareth.

1771.

The house in which we are met on this memorial day[1] comes to us from that period in the history of the Moravians, in which they began to assimilate with the other elements of the population that had taken root in the Province, and that were crowding them in their exclusive settlements. The Economy at Nazareth was dissolved in 1764. This led to many changes; the most important of which were the concentration of their people on fewer farms, and the subsequent founding of the village, now the borough, of Nazareth.[2] This was laid out on a parcel of six hundred acres of land, situate between what was henceforth called Old Nazareth[3] (its gigantic tile-roofed barn stands to the present day), and Nazareth Hall, in January of 1771.

The first dwelling was completed before the close of that year. But a village without an Inn, it was argued, would be "Hamlet without the ghost," and ill-equipped for the struggle for existence, and hence preparations were made in due time for the erection of the indispensable appendage. So far were these completed as to admit of the first layer of well-hewn hickory logs being put down on the 5th day of August of the last mentioned year. Day by day the work of blocking-up progressed under the hands of the young men from the Economy of Christian's Spring; the house was brought

[1] This paper, prepared by Prof. Reichel, was read by the late Dr. Maurice C. Jones, of Bethlehem, at the dinner given by a company of gentlemen in the "Old Inn at Nazareth," June 9, 1871, to commemorate its centennial as a hostelry. The editor has added some statistics and several foot-notes.

[2] The borough of Nazareth was incorporated by the Court of Quarter Sessions of Northampton County, in August of 1858.

[3] The so-called "Family House" was sold by the late Bishop Emil A. de Schweinitz (at that time warden at Nazareth), in 1845.

under roof and, during the Winter of 1771 and 1772, the details of its interior were developed in accordance with the architect's design. In the Spring of the last mentioned year it was occupied. But before passing on to a review of the administration of its affairs, we would submit the following statement of the cost at which the hostelry was erected. It is dated 31st January, 1772, and reads thus:

1. *For work done by the Economy at Christian's Spring:*

For 509 days' carpentering, felling and squaring timber, blocking up, laying floors, etc., @ 2s. 6d	£63	12	6
For 57 days' board for the carpenters, @ 1s. pr. day	2	17	
" 452 breakfasts and suppers, @ 7d.	13	3	8
" hauling stone and timber	26	4	
" hauling 44 logs to the saw mill	11		
" sawing	19	5	9
	£136	2	11

2. *For work done by, and for board provided for workmen from elsewhere.*

For digging cellar	£5	2	6
" quarrying stone	12	13	5
" hauling stone	9	9	
" hauling stone and timber	20	18	2
" mason work	46	12	
" carpentering and blocking-up	11	14	
" hod-carriers and day-laborers	30		
" carpenters' fine work	32	4	4½
" blacksmiths' work	5	12	5
" board and whiskey	35	5	6½
	£209	11	10

3. *For Materials.*

For 17,150 bricks, @ 30s. per m	£25	14	6
" 8,807 feet of pine boards	28	2	6
" 2 boxes of glass	8	1	
" 2 iron stoves	7	4	
" work done at the stoves	7	14	5
" 15 locks	4	5	3
" hair and mortar		11	6
" clapboards		19	3
" shovels, hoes, etc	9	10	
" logs from the woods	12	3	
" nails	19	6	1
" plank for stairway		2	
	£123	13	6.

Making a total of four hundred and sixty-nine pounds, eighteen shillings and three pence.

The public house at Nazareth, erected and completed at this outlay of pounds, shillings and pence, Pennsylvania currency, is described by a contemporary writer as having been "a rather murky-looking tenement;" but in course of time it was improved, enlarged, and ultimately renovated. In fact it passed through all the phases incident to Inns that revolve acceptably around the patronage and favor of a fickle but discriminating public.

On the 30th of March, 1772, John Lischer, of Mennonite parentage, a native of Hilzhof, Margraviate of Wittgenstein, farmer, and Mary Catharine, m. n. Lœsch, a daughter of George Lœsch, (a son of Balzar and Susan Philippina Lœsch) of Tulpehocken, his wife, were installed at the Inn, in the capacity of landlord and landlady. Mr. Lischer had immigrated early in life with others of his people, and settled in Oley. There he became attached to the Moravians, and in order to strengthen the new tie he removed to Bethlehem in 1743. In October of 1753, he accompanied a colony of young men to Western North Carolina, whither they had been sent to make a settlement on the newly purchased Moravian tract, called Wachovia. We next find him discharging the duties of an express-rider between Bethlehem and that distant point. One October morning in 1758, while Mr. Lischer and a comrade were returning from Philadelphia, whither they had been to market, they and their team were impressed in the Province service; and so it came to pass that before the close of a week, he had loaded up salt, and was *en route* for Raystown [Bedford], where Genl. Forbes was collecting a formidable force for the expulsion of the French from the country of the Ohio. Mr. Lischer married in 1759. In 1762, he was appointed landlord at "The Crown," and subsequently, as has been stated, at "The Rose." His wife was yet in her 'teens, when far into the night of the 29th of May, 1745, she assisted her mother in Tulpehocken, in finishing a tent for Bishop Spangenberg, who was on the morrow to set out for Onondaga of the Six Nations. Having been reared in the school of Moravian housewifery, she was privileged to lay the first stone in that pile, which to this day commemorates the good cheer that has always been dispensed at the Nazareth Inn. Mr. Lischer died in May of 1782, and was buried in the beautiful cemetery on the hill, of which he had been the custodian during the declining years of his life, and which his hands had assisted in adorning.

John Michael Mœhring, born in September of 1739, at Hirschberg in Voigtland, farmer, imported in the good ship "Hope," Capt. Christian Jacobsen, in September of 1761, was the second landlord of the Inn. He succeeded Mr. Lischer in March of 1775; but finding the duties of his position too onerous for one, he wisely sought a helpmate, and choosing Elizabeth Rauschenberger, he was married to her on the 30th of April following.

Two days before that important event in his life, an affair of importance in the life of the American people had occurred at Lexington. This and its long and tedious chain of consequences, link for link, afforded motives of conversation at the Nazareth Inn (as well as at all other Inns throughout the land); the visits of Generals Schuyler and Gates with their staffs, and lesser officers of the army, the passing and repassing of members of Congress, detachments of troops and prisoners-of-war—these, too, fell during the administration of Mr. Mœhring; and when he retired from the house at whose head he had stood for nine years, it no longer owed allegiance to King George the Third, and the Province had become a free and independent State. Mr. Mœhring died at Nazareth in April of 1796, and left no issue.

On the 19th of March, 1784, Owen Rice, and Elizabeth, née Eyerly, his wife, assumed the management of the Inn. Mr. Rice was a son of the Owen Rice who had set out the first orchard on the Barony, having been born in the city of New York, in August of 1751. During his incumbency the house gradually acquired a wide-spread reputation, as on the 3d of October, 1785, a boarding-school for young gentlemen was commenced in Nazareth Hall; and in the Inn the patrons of that rare old Institution, year after year, as often as "Examination Day" would summon them to Nazareth to witness the contest for academic honors between their children or wards, found a temporary home, a clean bed, forsooth, and always a good dinner. Mr. Rice died at Bethlehem in August of 1820.

The fourth landlord in the succession was John Kremser, a native of Nazareth, but at the time of his appointment a member of the Economy at Christian's Spring. Having married Ann Mary Peischer in March of 1790, he thereupon undertook the control of the house, and remained its responsible head for upwards of ten years. But in that interval he lost his wife. He next married

Ann Sybilla Beck, in February of 1793. Mr. Kremser died at Bethlehem in November of 1823.

John Lewis Roth, Mr. Kremser's successor, conducted the affairs of the Nazareth Inn, in the interval between October of 1800 and October of 1808. Mr. Roth was the first child of white parents born within the borders of the State of Ohio, he seeing the light of day on the 4th of July, 1773, at the Gnadenhuetten mission, on the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum. In 1785 he was a pupil at Nazareth Hall. His subsequent career is partially obscure; yet we know that he was a resident of the Moravian settlement of Hope, Warren County, New Jersey, when he was tendered the position of landlord at Nazareth. Mr. Roth withdrew from the Moravians and died at Bath, Northampton County, Pa., in September of 1841.

On the 27th October, 1808, Joseph Rice, a son of the third landlord, and Ann Salome, his wife, a daughter of the missionary John Heckewelder, were installed at the Inn. They conducted its concerns for upwards of two years. Mr. Rice died at Bethlehem, in October of 1831.

John S. Haman and Sarah, m. n. Schmick, his wife, (Betsy, a sister of Mrs. Haman, was the lady whose Shrewsbury cakes surpassed all others in points of excellence, and were the delight of rising and risen generations in the village of Nazareth), were host and hostess at our Inn, between June of 1811 and March of 1836, presiding over its fortunes, therefore, for almost a quarter of a century. Hence Mr. Haman was the landlord *par excellence* of the Nazareth Inn. He died at that place in February of 1866, in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

The landlords of this house up to 1836, without exception, were members of the Moravian Church. During the ensuing sixteen years, however, it was tenanted by those who were not members of that Church and, in 1853, it was sold to Peter Best.

William Craig was landlord between April of 1836 and April of 1842. Him followed Daniel Riegel, (of the Riegels of Saucon) who was also High Sheriff of the County—who was succeeded by Peter Best. Between 1854 and 1868, Edward Siegfried, Henry Whitesell, Richard Whitesell, Garnet and Leidy, and George Hager followed in rapid succession. In the last named year Jesse Billheimer became landlord under Paul Applebach, owner. After the

death of the said Applebach, the Executors of his last will and testament, on Thursday, December 19, 1872, at public sale, disposed of to Solomon Hummel—

"The well-known Nazareth Inn, in the Borough of Nazareth, County of Northampton, and State of Pennsylvania, established over one hundred years ago, and now occupied by Jesse Billheimer, being situated on the Northeast corner of South Main and Belvidere Streets, containing one hundred and forty feet front on said South Main Street, and extending of that same width Eastward three hundred and fifty feet to a public alley, on which is erected a three story brick tavern eighty-eight by forty-five feet, with all the modern improvements, having water in the kitchen and bar-room, a large Ball Room, store-room, saloon, thirty-five bed-rooms, &c. Also, a frame wash-house, eighteen by twenty feet, with a cistern therein, a wood-shed, twenty-seven by twenty feet, with an Ice Cellar. Also, a large shed, fifty-eight by forty feet, with an attachment, sixty-eight by twenty-eight feet, and a hydrant therein; also an open shed to drive under, forty-three by eighteen feet, and a fine apple orchard. The buildings are all in good repair, and as a Tavern Stand is unsurpassed in the County. Two lines of stages leave this hotel daily—one to Easton and the other to Bethlehem."

And finally, in the Spring of 1873, the old Nazareth Inn was taken by E. W. H. Hummel, (a son of the owner) who continued to be its host until April of 1882. Then Henry T. Milchsack assumed and held control until April of 1883, and was succeeded by Henry Whitesell, the present incumbent.

APPENDIX.

[CONTAINING MATTER SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE PRECEDING HISTORY.]

I.

A SKETCH OF THE BARONY OF NAZARETH.

In the Autumn of 1753, there was a great gathering of the headmen of the Moravian Church at Lindsey House, in the metropolitan suburb of Chelsea, Kensington Division of the Hundred of Ossulstone, Middlesex, O. E., for the purpose of examining into the financial circumstances of their Society, which then was on the verge of disastrous bankruptcy.

The following report was on that occasion submitted by the five representatives of the American Province of the Brethren's Unity, at the head of which stood Bishop Spangenberg, who had prepared it.

No. 1.—The Price of the bare Land of Nazareth, exclusive of the Improvements, is £125 sterling per 100 acres, amounting in 5,300 acres (so much belongs to it) to £6,625 sterling.

No. 2.—In this Tract of Land there have been three Plantations made, viz.: Nazareth, Gnadenthal, and Christiansbrunn; but besides these, there is room for two considerably large Plantations.

The Improvements of Nazareth Plantation are as follows:

I. *In Buildings.*

1. A large Dwelling-house of Stone Walls, 56 feet in Length, 35 feet in Breadth, two Stories high, besides the Garrets, containing 11 Dwelling Rooms, 3 very large Rooms or Halls, and 2 cellars..... £650 stg.

2. A House with a Kitchen, 30 feet long, and 24 feet broad, with 3 Dwelling Rooms and a Grainary	30	
3. Another House of the same kind, 30 feet long, 24 feet broad, with 3 Dwelling Rooms, 1 Hall and 1 Cellar	30	
4. A large House 56 feet long and 34 feet broad, two stories high besides the Garret story, containeth 10 Dwelling Rooms and 2 Halls	300	
5. A Farm House 40 feet long and 30 feet broad, two Stories high, containing 5 Rooms, a Cellar and Grainary	100	
6. A Wash House, Milk House, Barn and Kitchen	40	
7. A Smith's Shop	5	
8. A Flax House, 20 feet long and 14 feet broad and two stories high	20	
9. A Cow-house, 132 feet long, 27 feet broad, with Brick-walls and a tiled Roof	180	
10. Stables, 50 by 24 feet	20	
11. A Barn, 40 by 20 feet	10	
12. A Stable, 30 by 20 feet	10	
13. A quite new Barn, 130 feet long by 28 feet broad, brick-nogged and weather-boarded, and tiled Roof	130	
14. A Brick-house, Brick Kiln and Lime-Kiln	50	
Total Valuation		£1,575

II. *In Arable Land.*

1. Field of 68 acres, cleared and fenced	£68	
2. " 52 " "	52	
3. " 53 " "	53	
4. " 49 " "	49	
5. " 28 " } " 8 " } " 13 " }	49	
6. " 64 " "	64	
7. " 23 " "	23	
	£358	

III. *In Meadow Land.*

1. A Meadow of 40 acres	£60		
2. " 12 "	18		
3. " 9 "	13	10	
4. " 8 "	12		
5. " 22 "	33		
	£136	10	

IV. *A Large Orchard.*

With more than 2,000 young fruit-bearing grafted trees	£300		
Total Valuation		£794	10
Grand total of Improvements of Nazareth Plantation		£2,369	10

The Improvements of Gnadenthal Plantation:

I. *In Buildings.*

1. A Dwelling-house with Brick walls and a tiled Roof, 51 feet long by 30 feet broad, two stories high besides the Garret Story, containeth 10 Dwelling Rooms, 2 Halls, 1 Cellar	£300	
2. A House with Brick walls, 36 feet long by 22 feet in Breadth, with 4 Rooms, and 1 Cellar	200	
3. A Work-shop	10	
4. A walled Cow-house, 72 feet long by 50 feet in Breadth	180	
5. A Sheep-house	10	
6. A Cow-house, 50 feet long by 20 feet broad	25	
7. Horse Stables, 20 by 16 feet	10	
8. A second Sheep-house, 30 by 20 feet	10	
9. A Milk-house and a Wash-house	10	
10. A Barn, 40 by 20 feet	10	
		£765

II. *In Arable Land.*

1.	A Field of 87 acres, cleared and fenced...	£87	
2.	" 38 " " ...	38	
3.	" 13 } " " ...	17	
	" 4 }		
4.	" 5 } " " ...		
	" 15 } " " ...	38	
	" 13 } " " ...		
	" 5 } " " ...		
		£180	

III. *In Meadow Ground.*

1.	A Meadow of 13 acres	£19	10		
2.	" 22 "	33			
3.	A newly planted Orchard with bearing Fruit-trees, 8 acres.....	100			
		£152	10		
	Total Valuation.....			332	10
	Grand total of Improvements of Gnadenthal Plantation.			£1,097	10

The Improvements of Christiansbrunn Plantation are:

I. *In Buildings.*

1.	A House of 47 feet long by 30 feet in Breadth, two Stories high, with 5 Rooms, 1 Hall, 1 Cellar and 1 Fore-house.....	£200	
2.	A New Brick-house, 36 feet by 28 feet, three Stories high, with 8 Rooms, 1 Kitchen and a Bake-house.....	200	
3.	A Smith's Shop, 40 by 21 feet.....	30	
4.	A Saw-mill and Miller's house.....	150	
5.	A Coal-shop and Stable.....	5	
6.	A walled Brew-house with a vaulted cellar and Grainary, 50 by 30 feet.	230	
7.	A Cow-house of quartering and Brick-nogged, 70 by 30 feet.....	90	
8.	A Barn, 75 feet long, 36 feet broad, 16 feet high.....	75	
			£980

II. *In Arable Land.*

1. A Field of 57 acres, cleared and fenced...	£57				
2. " 95 " " ...	95				
3. " 63 " " ...	63				
4. " 36 " " ...	36				
5. " 21 " " ...	21				
	£272				

III. *In Meadow Land.*

1. A Meadow of 52 Acres.....	£78				
2. " 19 "	28	10			
3. A New Orchard of 2,000 Fruit Trees, of 20 Acres of Land.....	125				
	£231	10			
Total valuation.....			503	10	
Grand total of Improvements of Christiansbrunn Plantation.....			£1,483	10	

SUMMARY.

The Improvements of Nazareth Plantation..	£2,369	10		
" Gnadenthal " ..	1,097	10		
" Christiansbrunn " ..	1,483	10		
The worth of the bare Land of the whole Barony.....	6,625			
Grand total of valuation of the Barony of Nazareth.....	£11,575		10	stg.

In Nazareth Plantation are sowed yearly:

1. 100 Acres before Winter, each acre reckoned to produce 20 Bushels at 3s. per Bu. is	£300	P. C.
2. 100 Acres Summer Corn, allowing also 20 Bushels per acre and 2s. per Bu. is yearly	200	
3. 60 Milk Cows, the Profit of each, yearly £1. 10	90	
4. 25 Head of Cattle are killed per year at @ £3. 10.....	87	10

5. 150 Sheep, the Wool reckoned @ 1½ lb. per Fleece, 16d. per lb., amounts yearly to	15	
6. The Profits of the Brick-kiln, yearly.....	100	
7. " Lime-kiln.....	30	
8. " Orchard.....	15	
	£837	10

In Gnadenthal Plantation are sowed yearly:

1. 50 Acres before Winter, each acre reckoned to produce 20 Bu. at 3s. per Bu. is	£150	
2. 50 Acres Summer Corn, allowing also 20 Bu. per Acre @ 2s. per Bu. is yearly.....	100	
3. 30 Milk Cows, the yearly profit of each £1. 10s.....	45	
4. 15 Head of Cattle killed every year @ £3. 10s.....	52	10
5. 100 Sheep, allowing 1½ lb. each @ 16d. per lb.....	10	
	£357	10

In Christiansbrunn Plantation are sowed yearly:

1. 100 Acres before Winter, each acre reckoned to produce 20 Bu. @ 3s. per Bu. is.....	£300	
2. 100 Acres of Summer Corn.....	200	
3. 30 Milk Cows.....	45	
4. 15 Head of Cattle yearly killed.....	52	10
5. Revenue of the Saw-mill, yearly.....	132	
6. " Smith's-shop.....	30	
7. The Brew-house.....	50	
8. The Profits of the Still House.....	50	
	£859	10

Grand Total of the Yearly Revenues of the Barony.....	£2,054	10
After deducting, as usual, one-half for the Maintenance of the people who work the Land.....	£1,027	5
There remains.....	£1,027	5

Assuming the clear annual Profit of the Land to be..... £625
It would be equivalent to the Interest @ 5 per cent. of a Capital of..... £12,500
Or to the Interest @ 4 per cent. of a Capital of ..... £15,625.

In conclusion, it may be well to state in reference to the Land constituting the Barony of Nazareth

1. That it was sold for the first time in the year 1735 for £500 stg. Then was sold again in the year 1741, without any Improvements at all and before any of the adjoining Lands had been settled, the Price of Land rising, for £2,200.
2. That the Possessor thereof sold it again in the year 1744, taking £500 Profit, and obliging the Buyer furthermore, to pay the Interest from the year 1741 to 1744 at 4 per cent. (amounting to £264) besides the said Capital of £2,200 sterling—so that within three years the Price of the Land had risen by £764. Still the Seller counted it a Piece of Friendship to sell it at that Price.

Since that Time the Lands adjoining Nazareth have been peopled and cultivated by some hundred Families. Besides there has been a new Town settled about five miles from the Barony. This has raised the value of the Land by the *alterum tantum.*

The Barony of Nazareth is not encumbered with any Taxes, such as Quit-rents, but only a Red Rose every year, when demanded. It also has the right to hold a Court Baron.

[NOTE.—The population of the Barony in 1753 numbered 264 souls, 167 of which resided at Nazareth and in the house "Ephrata," 38 at Gnadenthal, 46 at Christian's Spring and 13 at Friedensthal and "The Rose."]

II.

INVENTORY OF "THE ROSE INN,"

MADE BY WILLIAM EDMONDS AND FREDERICK BŒCKEL, APRIL 17, 1765, ON THE APPOINTMENT OF JOHN LISCHER AS LANDLORD.

Provisions and Liquors.

88½ galls. West India Rum at 3s. 8d.	£16	4	6			
33 galls. New England Rum at 2s. 7d	4	5	3			
12½ galls. Lisbon Wine at 6s. 2d...	3	17	1			
1 Bbl. Cider.....		7	6			
24 galls. "		5				
8 " "Madigolum".....		10				
				£25	9	4
262 lbs. Pork and Ham at 5d.....	£5	9	2			
18 " Tallow at 6d.....		9				
3¾ " Candles at 9d.....		2	9½			
18 galls. Soft Soap at 8d.....		12				
8 " Vinegar, with cask.....		9				
8 lbs. Lard, with 2 pipkins, at 5d.		3	4			
20 lbs. Pickled Meat at 2d.....		3	4			
1 pipkin " "		1	6			
½ bush. Corn Meal @ 3s.....		1	6			
13½ " Oats at 2s. 6d.....	1	13	9			
2 cwt. Flour and Meal at 10s. 6d...	1	1				
½ bush. Flaxseed at 6s		3				
1½ " Cut Corn at 3s. 9d.....		5	7½			
½ " Buckwheat Meal.....		1	10½			
2 " Bran at 9d.....		1	6			
3 " Buckwheat at 2s. 6d.....		7	6			
				£11	5	10½
1 lb. Chocolate.....		2				
½ " Pepper and Allspice.....		1	3			
5 cwt. Hay.....		18				
18 Chickens at 6d.....		9				
4 Pigs at 8s.....		1	12			
3 Cows at £4 10s		13	10			
				£16	12	3

6 lbs. Wool at 1s.		6			
10 " " 6d.		5			
2 Bee Hives at 9s.		18			
5 Acres of sowed Wheat and Rye at 24s.	6				
			£7	9	

Furniture or Household Stuff.

Contents of Room No. 1.

1 double Featherbed, 2 pillows, weighing 35 lbs. at 2s.	£3	10			
1 double Straw Mattress		5			
1 " Bedstead		10			
9 " Sheets at 6s.	2	14			
4 " Pillow-cases at 1s. 6d.		6			
1 " Blanket		8			
1 " Green Coverlid	1				
1 single Featherbed and Pillow, weighing 23 lbs. at 2s.	2	6			
1 single Straw Mattress	3	6			
1 " Bedstead		5			
2 " Sheets at 5s		10			
2 " Bed-pillow-cases at 1s.		2			
1 " Blanket		8			
1 " Green Coverlid		16			
3 Window Curtains at 1s. 6d.		4	6		
1 broken Looking Glass		2			
2 Chamber pots at 6d.		1			
6 Chairs at 3s		18			
1 Walnut Table		12			
1 Bench		1	6		
			£15	2	6

Contents of Room No. 2.

1 single Feather bed and pillows, weighing 26 pounds at 2s.	£2	12			
1 single Mattress and Bolster		2			
1 " Bedstead		3			
1 pair Coverlids		6			
1 " Pillow cases		2			

1 old Blanket		6				
1 green Coverlid		16				
1 Mattress and pillow		4	6			
2 Check Head Pillow-cases		1	6			
2 Old Blankets at 4s		8				
1 Bedstead		4				
2 Night Chamber pots at 6d		1				
2 Window Curtains at 2s		4				
1 Wooden Chair		1	6			
1 Pine Table		4				
				£5	15	6

Contents of Room No. 3.

1 Mattress and Bolster		6				
1 Bedstead		7	6			
2 Coverlids at 2s. 6d		5				
2 Feather pillows		5				
1 Blanket		8				
1 Coverlid		12				
1 Mattress and pillow		6				
1 Blanket		8				
1 Coverlid		14				
2 Feather pillows		6				
1 Bedstead		7	6			
2 Chamber pots at 6d		1				
				£4	12	

Contents of Room No. 4.

1 Old Bedstead and Blankets				£	9	6

Contents of Room No. 1—First Floor.

1 small Cupboard with lock	£	10				
1 Flint Musket	1					
2 Wooden Chairs at 1s. 6d		3				
1 Table		8				
1 Broken Looking Glass		2				
2 blue Window Curtains at 1s		2				
6 porcelain Tea Cups and 2 Nutmegs		12				
1 Sugar Bowl		1				
1 Leaden ½ lb. Tea Canister			8			
1 Clothes and Shoe Brush		2	6			

3 Delf Punch Bowls		3				
1 1-qt. Glass Decanter		4				
2 1-pt. " "		4				
3 ½-pt. " " at 2s		6				
1 Tumbler and 1 Wine Glass		2	6			
2 Gill Tumblers		1	6			
6 Teaspoons			9			
1 Gold weight		5				
1 Nutmeg Grater			6			
				£4	8	5

Contents of Room No. 2—First Floor.

1 Straw Mattress and Feather pillows	£	5				
2 Old Blankets at 7s		14				
1 " Bedstead		1	6			
1 Basket of Chicken Feathers		3				
1 Fine Table Cloth and 7 Napkins		16				
1 Linen Table cloth		6				
1 worked " "		3	6			
4 small " " at 2s		8				
3 Towels at 1s. 3d		3	9			
7 worked Towels at 6d		3	6			
				£3	8	3

Contents of Room No. 3—First Floor.

1 Walnut Table	£	8				
2 Wooden Chairs		2				
½ bushel, ¼ bush., and ⅛ bush. Measures		1	6			
1 Water Pot		5				
				£	16	6

Contents of Room No. 4—First Floor.

1 Walnut Table	£	8				
2 Benches		3				
				£	11	

Contents of the Kitchen.

26 lbs. pewter Bowls and plates at 1s. 9d	£2	5	6			
1 large pewter Tea Canister		5				

1 pewter Tea Canister.....		4				
20 " Spoons at 3s. pr.dz.		5				
6 Iron Candlesticks at 10d.....		5				
2 Tin Coffee Cans		3	6			
2 Glasses for Oil and Vinegar @ 9d.		1	6			
1 Tea Canister filled with 1 lb. Coffee		2	4			
1 Tin Saucepan, 1 quart.....			9			
3 Candlesnuffers		2				
1 Copper Tea Kettle.....	1					
1 " "		8				
1 Lantern and 2 tin Candlesticks..		2	6			
12 pair Knives and Forks at 1s ..		12				
1 Pepper Box and 2 Salt.....		2				
1 Milk Pitcher, 4 quart mugs and 2 pint Jugs.....		2				
1 Iron Grater and 3 Wooden Salt boxes.....		1				
1 stone and 2 earthen Jugs		2	6			
1 earthen drinking Jug.....			6			
6 Wooden plates at 1d.....			6			
1 Iron Kettle.....	1	2	6			
1 "		8				
1 small Iron Kettle.....		8				
1 Brass Kettle.....		12				
1 Frying Pan.....		5				
1 Coffee Roaster.....		6				
1 Mortar.....		1				
2 Water Buckets at 1s		2				
2 Milk " 9d.....		1	6			
1 Swill "		1				
1 Meat Fork and Spoon, 1 pan and skimming ladle		6				
2 Iron Covers.....		6				
1 " Shovel and Tongs.....		6				
2 " " "		13				
2 " " "		3				
1 Table.....		7	6			
1 Bottle.....			6			
"		3				
				£11	17	7

Contents of the Spring House.

12 Milk Pots at 4d	£	4		
2 Cream "		2		
½ " "		1	6	
4 " "		4	9	
14 Earthen Dishes		4	8	
1 Butter Dish		2		
2 old Cider Casks at 3s.		6		
6 Bbls. Soft Soap at 2s. 6d		15		
3 Casks, 20, 10 and 5 galls. each		7	6	
2 Rum Casks at 7s. 6d		15		
1 Bbl. Saur Kraut		4		
2 Leaden Funnels		1		
1 quart, 1 pint, 1 ½-pint, 1 gill, 1 ½-gill measures		9		
4 Black Bottles at 4½d		1	6	
1 Stilliard		7	6	
1 Butter Tub		1	6	
7 " at 2s. 6d		17	6	
1 Old Spinning Wheel		3		
7 " at 1s. 6d		10	6	
6 old "		6		
6 Bread Baskets at 6d		3		
6 Bee-hives at 1s. 2d		7		
7 " 10d		5	10	
2 old "		5		
2 pair "		6		
2 Rakes		1		
1 Grind Stone		2		
1 Dung Fork, Hatchet and Hay Fork		5		
1 Old Handsaw, 2 Grubbing Hoes.		14		
2 Hoes, 1 Spade		6		
1 Spade, 2 wedges, 1 old axe		8	6	
2 old Ropes		1		
1 Wagon, 1 Hammer, 1 Breast-Chain, 1 Hay-tree, old		1	10	
1 Old Wheelbarrow		6		
1 Plow, 1 Harrow	1	7	6	
1 old Sled		3		
1 old Saddle and 2 Bridles		12		
1 "		4		
				£13 11 3

SUMMARY.

Provisions, Liquors, etc.....	£60	16	5½
Contents of Room No. 1.....	15	2	6
" " No. 2.....	5	15	6
" " No. 3.....	4	12	
" " No. 4.....		9	6
" " No. 1, (first floor).....	4	8	5
" " No. 2, "	3	8	3
" " No. 3, "		16	6
" " No. 4, "		11	
" Kitchen.....	11	17	7
" Spring House.....	13	11	3
	£121	8	5½

THE CAMMERHOFF TROUBLE AT ONONDAGA.

A MS. in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem.

EDITED BY
JOHN W. JORDAN.

1885.

SUBSTANCE

OF WHAT PASSED AT A VISIT PAID HIS HONOR JAMES HAMILTON[1] ESQ., LIEUT. GOV^R. OF PENNSYLVANIA, BY THE BR^N. JOSEPH,[2] HERMANN[3] AND ROGERS.[4] JUNE 17, 1752.

(*A MS. in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem.*)

AFTER the usual compliments Bro. Joseph presented Bro. Rogers as an English preacher of our Church, who would for some time

[1] James Hamilton, a son of Andrew Hamilton, a lawyer of eminence, was the first American appointed Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania. Hamilton was Governor a second time, between November of 1759 and October of 1763. He was twice at Bethlehem; both when on his way to, and when on his return from a Conference held with the Indians at Easton in June of 1762.

[2] Subsequent to 1745, and until his death in 1792, Bishop Spangenberg, by a substitution of the Hebrew and Biblical equivalent for his given name Augustus, was known among the Brethren, simply as Joseph. Hence he adopted Joseph, or Joseph Spangenberg as his signature.

[3] Frederic Emanuel Hermann came to Bethlehem in the Summer of 1750 in company with upwards of eighty young men, led by Henry Jorde, and imported on the *Irene*. In 1753 and again in 1759 he was settled in the ministry at Philadelphia.

[4] John Jacob Rogers, who had been educated for the ministry and who had taken Deacon's orders in the Church of England, united with the Brethren, prior to 1742, while settled at Bedford. In 1751 they appointed him minister of their congregation in London. In the Spring of 1752 he was dispatched to Pennsylvania. Having labored in the ministry in Philadelphia and in New York, in July of 1758 he was appointed "English minister" to the Moravian settlements in Rowan county, North Carolina, which were then embraced in a distinct district under the name of Dobb's Parish. In the Spring of 1760 Rogers returned to

act in that character in Philadelphia. The Governor expressed his satisfaction, and then addressing himself to Bro. Joseph, inquired what progress we had made in the building of our new town. Bro. Joseph answered that we had made some preparations of stone, timber, etc., and built a tavern[5] for the entertainment of strangers and convenience of the workmen, and perhaps more might be done this Summer. Bro. Joseph told him also that our *Irene* had again set sail for London; yet we wished it would suit our convenience to use the port of Philadelphia, but after examining into the affair, it was found difficult, if not impracticable, for our captain being born near New York, and having had a long ac-

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Pennsylvania, and was again settled in Philadelphia. In July of 1762 he sailed for Europe in company of Bishop Spangenberg. While at Bethlehem in the intervals between his appointments, Bro. Rogers engaged in making translations into English, of Reports from the Indian Mission and of Discourses of Count Zinzendorf.

The late Bishop John Rogers, of the British Province, was a grandson of the subject of this notice.

[5] On his return from Europe in December of 1751, Bishop Spangenberg, in accordance with instructions he had received from Zinzendorf, projected a new settlement on the "Nazareth tract," after the model of the Brethren's settlements in Germany. It was therefore designed to be, what in Moravian parlance is called an *Ortsgemeine*, that is, a Moravian village, whose type was not as yet represented in this country, as the Brethren of Bethlehem and Nazareth constituted an Economy or Family. Although it was midwinter, the town of *Gnadenstadt*, (for so it was to be called,) was surveyed and laid out (January 3, 1752,) on 160 acres of land, stretching north in the valley above the Whitefield House; stone were quarried and hauled, and a dwelling completed in the following Spring. A house of entertainment and a store were also erected. The former (called "the Rose," since August 6, 1754,) is the tavern alluded to in the text. Its foundation stone was laid May 27, and September 15, 1752, it was occupied by John Schaub and Divert, his wife.

At this stage of the settlement, however, further work was suspended, as the inhabitants of Nazareth, most of whom it was contemplated locating at Gnadenstadt, declined to abandon the mode of life in which they had been living since 1744.

The dwelling alluded to above, stood empty accordingly until in May of 1760, when it was occupied by John George Claus and his family. In 1761 Gottlieb Demuth and others took up lots on the site of the projected village of Gnadenstadt, and in June of 1762 the then growing settlement was called *Schœneck*, the name of an Austrian estate of the old family of Zinzendorf.

On October 3, 1762, the first meeting-house at Schœneck was dedicated to the worship of God by Bishops Nathaniel Seidel and Matthew Hehl. The present church in the village was dedicated October 20, 1793.

quaintance with the merchants there, can more easily get freight to and from New York than Philadelphia (passengers alone not being sufficient for the purpose), especially if we consider that most of the merchants in Philadelphia have their own ships. Which the Governor acknowledged to be satisfactory, but observed withal that some people pretended the true reason was that our Brethren and Sisters took this course purposely to avoid, at their arrival, taking the usual oath of allegiance and supremacy. But Bro. Joseph assured him that the above reason was the true one, and to convince his Honor that our Brethren and Sisters were faithful subjects, they were at all times ready at his command to come hither and give their affirmation; but this he did not seem to think necessary, declaring it was not his own opinion. Then Bro. Joseph told his Honor that he would now acquaint him with our design of sending three Brethren to Onondaga, according to the agreement which the late Mr. Cammerhoff made with the Indians[6] by a belt of wampum, namely, that a couple of Brethren should come and reside among them in order to improve in their language and occasionally speak to them of the true God and the faith in Jesus Christ; and therefore would beg the favor of a certificate under his hand and seal, that it might be done with his knowledge and sanction. The Governor replied, our undertaking was laudable, and that for his part he was so far from having any objection to it, that he would rather choose to further the same. He then inquired who the persons were, and was told that they were Mr. Martin Mack, David Zeisberger and Gottfried Rundt, and acquainted with their respective characters; the first only to conduct them thither and the two last to abide there. Thereupon Bro. Joseph put the Governor in mind of a detestable passage in the newspaper concerning the late Mr. Cammerhoff's visit among the Indians, in which the Governor's name was also made free with, and that he was very much concerned in what proper and becoming manner the public might be set to rights in the affair. He answered, it was true the case was not as there represented; for had it been so, Mr. Cammerhoff would have deserved to be made an example of. Bro. Joseph interrupting him said: no punishment could have been too

[6] With the Sachems of the Six Nations, while at their capital, in the Summer of 1750. For a memoir of Bishop J. C. F. Cammerhoff refer to p. 175.

severe, such conduct being no less than high treason. Nevertheless I remember, continued the Governor, something of a suspicious nature to have been brought to my ear which my office required me to look into; and upon that account I took an opportunity of speaking to Mr. Cammerhoff on the subject, whereby I was fully satisfied of his innocence, but thought it possible for him to have acted at least a little imprudently, though without any ill design; which he had not scrupled to tell him. But having mislaid his memoranda he had now forgotten the particulars, only so much he remembered in general, that he was accused of attempting to draw the Indians to the French party, of persuading them to sell no more of their lands to the English, both as they sold them too cheap and would hereby be in danger at last of having none left for themselves. Of endeavoring to bring Mr. Conrad Weisser into disrepute amongst the Indians, giving out that the government would for the future transact all its affairs with them through the Brethren. And also that Mr. Cammerhoff had been the cause of Canassetego's death, by means of the presents distributed among them, etc. Bro. Joseph replied that as he knew Mr. Cammerhoff as well as himself, together with the principles from which he acted, having been his fellow-laborer for several years, and having had sufficient opportunity of knowing the very bottom of his heart and thoughts, so that he could be bold to affirm that all these accusations were entirely groundless. Besides that he had in his custody Mr. Cammerhoff's journal, in which all the discourses he held with the Indians are set down word for word, and that Mr. Zeisberger, his only interpreter, was also now in town ready to declare the whole truth to his Honor if required. Moreover that we were not only from principle wholly devoted to the English government, having enjoyed more favors under it than any other, but it would be even to act inconsistently with ourselves and our designs among the Indians to incline to the French party, as we should thereby ruin our whole work among them. The Governor said that he believed it, and that we had indeed reason to value the English government. Bro. Joseph proceeded and said: it might possibly be that Mr. Conrad Weisser had some such kind of jealousy with respect to the public affairs of the Indians; but that it had been an established maxim for many years amongst us not to intermeddle in anything of that kind, believing it prejudicial to our

main business of preaching the Gospel, as we have amply declared in a piece in the French tongue, occasioned by such-like charges being insinuated in Holland to the prejudice of our missionaries in Berbice and the Cape of Good Hope. It would likewise here be doing us the greatest favor if the government would vouchsafe for ever to exempt us from all affairs of a civil nature. Neither could we undertake anything of this kind, as it is certain the government may often have necessary occasion to lay before the Indians things not always agreeable to them, which would consequently prove obstructive to our purpose of winning their hearts to Jesus Christ.

As to Canassetego's[7] death, it is not at all improbable but that he was a valuable man adhering strictly to the English interest, he might have been taken off by the opposite party inclining to the French, by whom he was hated and envied. Yes, it may be so, replied the Governor, but nevertheless something has been rumored among the Indians themselves. Bro. Joseph said: It just now occurs to my mind that visiting a few weeks ago the Indians in Shomoco,[8] one of Shikellimy's sons gave me the following account. That the Indians on the Susquehanna living beyond Wyoming had received a message with a string of wampum from some distant Indians, warning them in general to beware of the

[7] The name of this Sachem of the Onondagas of the Iroquois occurs for the first time in public records in the Minutes of a Conference held with their deputies by Gov. Thomas at Philadelphia in July of 1742. On that occasion Canassetego was speaker for his people, and when the defiant posture of the Delawares of the Forks was brought before him, he adjudged their claims to lands lying within the purchase of 1686 to be unwarrantable, and sternly rebuked their leaders. It was after this Conference, and when, on their return to Onondaga, that Zinzendorf met him and his fellow Sachems in Tulpehocken. Canassetego was also speaker for the Iroquois at Albany, where upwards of four hundred of their deputies were met by Gov. Clinton and Commissioners from Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, in October of 1745, during the troublous times of Gov. Shirley's war. He was at Philadelphia for the last time in August of 1749; and on a copy of the deed for a purchase of lands effected on the 22d of that month by the Proprietaries' agents, Canassetego's name, with his *totem*, an elk, appears among the signatures. He deceased at Onondaga, September 6, 1750. "Our friend Canassetego," writes Weisser to Secretary Peters, when at Bethlehem, on his return from Onondaga, "was buried the day before I came to the capital. His successor is a professed Roman Catholic, and devoted altogether to the French, so that I believe the English interest can be of no consideration any more to the Six Nations."

[8] Shamokin.

English, and especially of the Governor of Pennsylvania, who would send people with poisoned blankets among them in order to destroy them; or else would draw and entice them to him by fine presents, in order to send them over the great water and make slaves of them. Bro. Joseph told them that this could not be true, but a trumped up story by the French to draw them off from their faithful brethren the English, that he would lay his life on it Onas never had such a thought, for he knew him to be an honest gentleman who loved the Indians. However they desired him to acquaint the Governor with it the first opportunity; from whence it appeared that such-like stories were not much to be depended upon. The Governor was very attentive and seemed a little surprised, but made no reply. Bro. Joseph further said: that as to the presents,[9] Mr. Cammerhoff looked upon it as a usual thing, especially at the great council of Onondaga, to make presents to the Indians, and accordingly took along with him some little matters for that purpose; but that the Governor if he pleased might further inform

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[9] *Specification of goods and trinkets furnished Bishop Cammerhoff for his journey to Onondaga, and for presents to the Indian Sachems there.*

5 pr. silver arm-rings,—2 neck-chains with medals,—20 shirt buckels, —14 pr. silver sleeve-buttons of wire-work,—20 finger-rings, set with stones, crystals, etc.,—6 pr. ear-rings set with ditto,—4 pr. plain ear rings,—1 peacock and rings for the ear,—4 pr. stones for the hair,—amounting with silver, stones and workmanship to.....	£29 — —
Sundry presents in silver, collected last Summer, and now forwarded, amounting to.....	5 — —
20 rolls of tobacco @ 8d., (— 13s. 4d.) 20 pair of stroud stockings, 2 stroud blankets, 2 pr. of stroud stockings for the Indian guide and his wife, amounting to 7 yds. of strouding @ 8s. 6d. per yard, (£2. 16s. —.) 3½yds. of linen for a shirt for the Indian guide @ 1s. 8d. per yard (— 5s. 10d.) 3 striped blankets @ 12s. (£1 16s. —.) 3lbs. of coffee @ 1s. 8d, (— 5s. —.) 2lbs. of tea @ 7s. 6d. (— 15s. —.) 8lbs. of sugar @ 6d. (— 4s. —.) 3lbs. of chocolate @ 1s. 8d. (— 5s. —.) pepper and ginger (— 1s. 6d.) 3 tin cups (— 2s. 6d.) needles (— 10s. —.) 130 fish hooks and 3 lines (— 5s. —.) 24 gun-flints (— 1s. —.) 1 brass kettle (— 11s. —.) 8lbs. of shot (— 3. 4d) 3lbs. of powder (— 7s. 6d.) 2½lbs. of lead (— — 10d.) 30 pipe shanks @ 9d. (£1 2s. 6d.) wampum (£9 5s. —.) 30lbs. white biscuit and 30lbs. brown ditto @ 3d. (— 15s. —.) soap in cakes (— 5s. —.)—amounting to.....	20 10 4
Total valuation.....	£54 10 4

himself by Mr. Zeisberger (Mr. Cammerhoff's only interpreter) now in this city. The Governor again repeated that he could not now recollect the particulars, but so much he remembered that in speaking with Mr. Cammerhoff he found things to have been very much misrepresented, though he thought upon the whole, he might have acted a little more cautiously. In the meanwhile it was his opinion that the Brethren had all the reason in the world to love and esteem the English government above any other. To which Bro. Joseph answered by all means, for that many of our Brethren had felt the tyranny of popery [10] in prisons, and had been greatly oppressed even by other forms of government; and therefore that we were sincerely glad and thankful to live under a Constitution governed by the wisest laws, and jointly to partake of the happy liberties thereof. And that our only aim among the Indians was to bring them to the knowledge of their Saviour. To which the Governor replied that this was a good and laudable undertaking, which he for his part would rather choose to promote than hinder. And as to the certificate, if Mr. Spangenberg had no objection to it, he would lay our request before the council. Bro. Spangenberg replied that he was so far from having any objection, that he very much approved of the proposal and would stay in town for an answer; asking at the same time if it would not be well to give in a petition in writing, together with a short state of the case before spoken of. The Governor said yes it would be very well, again assuring him that for his part he would be for the petition, and believed none of his council would be against it. Upon which we very respectfully took leave of his Honor.

FREDERIC EMANUEL HERMANN,
JACOB ROGERS.

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[10] The persecution of the Protestants of Moravia and Bohemia, including the Moravian and Bohemian Brethren, (*Unitas Fratrum,*) by the Papacy, was the cause of that immigration to Saxony, which, between 1722 and 1727 resulted in the establishment of the Renewed Church of the United Brethren at Herrnhut. There were but few of these immigrants who had not suffered for conscience' sake, having been deprived of their cherished means of grace, of their ministry, and of their churches, or else for disregarding the mandates of papal emissaries, and continuing to worship God after the manner of their forefathers. It is to them that Spangenberg alludes; and their case must have presented itself vividly to the speaker, as he thought of David Nitschmann, Sr., of Bethlehem, who was a representative as well as a descendant of the old Moravian Confessors.

SPANGENBERG'S APPLICATION TO GOV. HAMILTON IN BEHALF OF THE MISSIONARIES MACK, ZEISBERGER AND RUNDT, FOR A PASSPORT TO ONONDAGA.

To the Honorable James Hamilton, Esq., Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR!

Three of our Brethren, viz.: the Rev. Mr. Martin Mack, the Rev. Mr. David Zeisberger, and Mr. Gottfried Rundt, belonging to Bethlehem, having a mind to go up to Onondaga, agreeable to a certain promise made the Indians two years since—the first to conduct them thither and then return again to his place among the Indians at Gnadenhütten over the Blue Mountains—and stay awhile with the Indians and improve themselves in their language.[11]

These are therefore humbly to desire your Honor will be pleased to grant them a Passport for that purpose, under your hand and seal, which will greatly oblige

Your Honor's
Most humble and obedient Servant,
JOSEPH, *alias* AUGUSTUS SPANGENBERG.[12]

Philadelphia, June 18, 1752.

STATE OF THE CASE RESPECTING THE BRETHREN'S GOING AMONG THE FIVE NATIONS, HUMBLY LAID BEFORE HIS HONOR, THE GOVERNOR.

The United Brethren have had it at heart from their very first arrival in this country, to bring the heathen to the knowledge of

[11] For "John Martin Mack's narrative of a journey to Onondaga in 1752," edited by John W. Jordan, refer to *The Moravian*, Vol. XXI, Nos. 44, 45, 46.

[12] This petition was presented to the Governor and read in Council, on Wednesday, the 24th of June. "The Council were unanimously disposed by all means to encourage and promote the conversion of the Indians to the Christian faith, and

their God and Saviour; but finding it not to answer their purpose to speak to them by an interpreter, they have from time to time endeavored to acquaint themselves with the languages of those Indians near whom they lived. On this account it was that the late Rt. Rev. John C. Frederic Cammerhoff about two years since, with your Honor's knowledge and passport, took a journey to Onondaga, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Zeisberger, and proposed to the Council of the Five Nations two of our Brethren coming to live among them in order to improve in their languages. He likewise at the same time asked the Council if they approved of a smith from the Brethren, living among the nation of the Nanticokes at Wyoming, who had asked Mr. Cammerhoff for one, and had desired him to speak about it with the Chiefs at Onondaga.[13] They were kindly received and obtained this answer: that the said Brethren should be welcome among them for that purpose, and further, should be entirely at their liberty to fix their abode among any of the Nations they thought fit—either in Onondaga, or with the Oneidas, Cayugas, Senecas, or Mohawks. With respect to the smith desired by the Nanticokes, it was the opinion of the Council, that they as well as other Indians could make use of the smith already settled at Shamokin.[14]

The truth of the above relation, if need be, can be made to appear not only by the notes of said Mr. Cammerhoff, (in which the speeches he made to the Indians and the answers they returned him are minuted down,) but also by said Mr. Zeisberger, his companion in travel, now in this city.

Having given your Honor this short account, according to

thought that the zeal expressed by the Moravian Brethren on this occasion was highly laudable; but as it was to be feared that the Indians would not be pleased with the Brethren's living among them, and that these might not confine themselves to matters of religion, but might meddle with the affairs of government, it was thought proper to write to Mr. Weiser, desiring him to give his sentiments on this matter, and in what light the Indians would see it, and whether it could have any bad effect on the affairs of government. Accordingly a letter was written to Mr. Weiser by the Secretary."—*Minutes of Provincial Council, June 24, 1752.*

[13] Cammerhoff had been entrusted with this commission by the Nanticokes, while at their town in Wyoming, immediately before his departure thence to Onondaga, in May of 1750.

[14] In August of 1747 the Brethren, at the request of the Indians and with the consent of government, built a blacksmith-shop at Shamokin. It was abandoned on the commencement of Indian hostilities in October of 1755.

truth, I will now proceed to mention some false reports relating to this affair, with suitable answers thereto.

1. That the Brethren had secretly intended to set the Indians against the English interest.[15]
2. That they had insinuated to the Indians to be cautious in selling their lands to the English.
3. That their intention had been to get the public affairs between the Indians and this Government into their hands.
4. That they by making presents to Canassetego, which excited the envy of the rest, had been the occasion of his death.
5. That the Indians altogether objected even against the Brethren's coming among them.
6. That the Brethren seemed to be against all government in general, and therefore against the English.
7. That said Mr. Cammerhoff had attempted to bring the Indians over to a foreign Count.[16]

To the first it is answered—that it is certainly a calumny without foundation. The Brethren are well and sincerely affected to the English government, nor is it possible for them to be otherwise. For, supposing the French should prevail among the Indians, (which God prevent!) then the Brethren's work among them, to bring them to the Christian knowledge, as well as their residing there for that purpose, would entirely be put a stop to.

The second charge is equally without foundation;—said Mr. Zeisberger, the only person who could speak with the Indians, being now here ready to give his affidavit, that no such thing either directly or indirectly was ever insinuated to the Indians.

As to the third;—the direct contrary is true. We dread the interfering in any affairs between government and the Indians, being apprehensive it might prove detrimental to our proper busi-

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[15] During "the five years' French and Indian War in New England and the parts adjacent," commonly called "Governor Shirley's War," (1744 to 1749,) the Moravian Missionaries in New York and Connecticut had in like manner been charged with disloyalty to the Crown. That war had been concluded by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, October 18, 1748. The latter proved, however, a mere armistice; for no sooner had George II granted lands and trading privileges to the Ohio Company in 1749, than the French of Canada made preparations for a renewal of the conflict, and the rival colonial powers sought each to secure the good-will and alliance of the Six Nation Indians, in the event of a rupture.

[16] Count Zinzendorf.

ness of preaching the Gospel among them ; and therefore it would rather be doing us a pleasure if the government would never engage any Brother understanding the Indian language in such matters.

As to the fourth ;—'tis true Mr. Cammerhoff did make presents to the Indians, believing it to be a general custom among them to receive presents when any message is presented to them. And therefore he took with him such things as were most easily carried, which he delivered to Canassetego to be equally divided among the chiefs, which was accordingly done. As to Canassetego's death, its to be admired how this is to be laid to Mr. Cammerhoff's charge in any shape, considering the above state of the case. But supposing Canassetego to have been taken off by poison, as he was a person strongly attached to the English, (and for that reason particularly dear to us,) therefore it is not to be wondered at if some of the French party found means to make away with him. But after all, being an ancient man he may be easily supposed to have died a natural death.

As to the fifth ;—how can it be true ? For said Mr. Zeisberger is ready to make affidavit that the Indians in their Council solemnly declared that they very much approved of the Brethren's coming among them to improve in their language ; though 'tis possible there may be some of the French party who don't care to see the Brethren among the Indians, knowing them to be entirely devoted to the English government.

The Brethren, in answer to the sixth point, do believe that it is actually impossible for any society of people to prosper without government, and are very thankful to God, who gives us rulers in general. They willingly obey magistrates who have power over them, not out of fear but for conscience' sake. But as to the English government in particular, we like its constitution above all others whatsoever, and thankfully acknowledge the liberties we enjoy in all the British dominions. Many of us have felt the severe treatment of Romish powers, and therefore bless God, from the bottom of our hearts, for the Protestant royal family now on the throne, which God long preserve !

As to the seventh charge ;—the Count, who goes by the name of Johanan among the Indians, was mentioned in Onondaga for this reason only, as he had some years ago agreed with some of the

chiefs of the Five Nations in Mr. Conrad Weisser's house, that Brethren should come and live among them, not with a view of trading, but to learn their language, and then to speak only to such of the Indians as should have a mind and heart to hear of their Lord and God. SPANGENBERG.

Philadelphia, June 18, 1752.

SUBSTANCE

OF WHAT PASSED AT A VISIT PAID HIS HONOR, JAMES HAMILTON, ESQ., GOVERNOR OF PENNSYLVANIA, BY JACOB ROGERS AND JOHN OKELY, JUNE 25, 1752,—OCCASIONED BY A LETTER FROM MR. SECRETARY PETERS ACQUAINTING MR. SPANGENBERG THAT THE COUNCIL HAD AS YET COME TO NO RESOLUTION WITH RESPECT TO THE PASSPORT DESIRED TO BE GIVEN TO THREE BRETHREN, VIZ.: MARTIN MACK, DAVID ZEISBERGER AND GOTTFRIED RUNDT, INTENDING TO MAKE A JOURNEY TO ONONDAGA.

HAVING received our instructions from Bro. Joseph (who could not through indisposition wait on the Governor), we went and acquainted his Honor with the receipt of the above letter, and that as the Council had as yet come to no resolution, Bro. Joseph desiring to free his Honor from too much trouble in the affair, had thought proper to acquaint him that the Brethren intending to pass through New York Government, could provide themselves with a passport from his Excellency there, which was presumed would meet with his Honor's approbation.[17] Upon which he replied after some little pause: Mr. Spangenberg might do as he pleased; but desired us to take notice that he should not by any means look upon this answer as a denial of the passport. 'Tis true, he had called his Council, and laid the matter before them, but they thought it was necessary to have a little more time to consider the

[17] Passes were obtained from Dirk Schuyler, Justice of the Peace of New Brunswick, N. J., and Edward Holland, Mayor of New York.

matter, some of them alleging they were also unacquainted with the Brethren's principles, whether political or religious,—he answered, they seemed to fear whether the Brethren were not popishly inclined;[18] adding that they had seen no doctrinal books of theirs to give them satisfaction. Indeed, that he had a book presented to him by the Brethren, which he had also perused, but owned it was mostly unintelligible to him; whether it was owing to badness of translation or some other cause, he could not tell (N. B. this book was the *Acta Unitatis Fratrum*).[19] Mr. Rogers said, that as to his own person he was an Englishman, educated as a minister in the Church of England, in which he had officiated as such for some time, and therefore from his education not to be supposed inclined to Popery; and that after twelve years acquaintance with the Brethren, in which time it may be presumed he had sufficient opportunity to dive into the bottom of the Brethren's principles he had observed no such thing in them, but altogether the reverse. Besides, methinks, the Brethren's principles have been sufficiently examined into by the Parliament of England. Upon which the Governor said,—'twas true, he did remember to have seen a very good testimony concerning the Brethren from the late Archbishop of Canterbury,[20] on which he supposed the proceedings of the

[18] The then popular belief that the Moravians were Romanists, originated perhaps in a knowledge of the existence of separate houses for the young men and women of their settlements, and in a misapprehension of the character and purport of their religious festivals (such as Easter and Christmas,) as well as of the object of their exclusive policy. From their settlement in the Colonies until the abrogation of their Economy, in 1762, they had to contend against this error, and on several occasions in the interval were much embarrassed in their movements by the prejudice to which it subjected them.

[19] *Acta Fratrum Unitatis in Anglia: London. 1749.* Folio. Containing in black letter, "An Act for encouraging the People known by the name of Unitas Fratrum or United Brethren, to settle in His Majesty's Colonies in America," passed in May of 1749, it being the twenty-second year of the reign of George II;—the Report of the Committee to which Parliament referred the Petition of the Brethren asking for recognizance as a duly organized Protestant Church and for immunity from military service, and from taking an oath;—and a collection of vouchers and testimonials bearing on the claims set up by the petitioners as to their historical antecedents, their posture in the Church of Christ, and the character of the work in which they had engaged.

[20] While in England in the Winter of 1737, the Trustees of the Colony of Georgia negotiated with Zinzendorf for missionaries to be sent to the negroes of South Carolina. Uncertain in his mind, whether the official acts of Moravian

Parliament were founded. Here the Governor (a little abruptly) said; "now we are in a way of discourse, I would mention something to you, which I must confess I am a little at a loss about, not that I would have you think, gentlemen, I am going to speak my own sentiments, or accuse the Brethren in any shape; for my part I have never seen anything amiss in them, nor have I anything to lay to their charge. But why are the Brethren so obnoxious to the Protestant States?[21] For we find the Brethren have done something to make themselves so to most of the Protestant powers of Europe? If they were Popish States, it would not be strange." Here he instanced several, viz: Holland, Saxony, Prussia, Hanover, etc. 'Tis true, he continued, their charges against them are general and unfixed; but yet he was apt to think there must be some secret cause for it. It was answered in general, that it was not the case; for, with respect to the King of Prussia,[22] our Brethren had several settlements in his dominions, particularly in Silesia, with the King's consent and approbation. As to Saxony, it had granted several great privileges to the Brethren, and was willing to grant them more than the Brethren were inclined to accept. With respect to Holland, he was sensible it was a country pretty much governed by the populace, over whom the clergy had a great sway, that the Brethren were well known and approved of by the States, but could not be countenanced for fear of offending the clergy, who

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clergymen would or would not be regarded valid by the Church of England, he recommended that the Trustees appoint a Committee to wait upon Archbishop Potter, to learn his opinion concerning the Church of the United Brethren, and to ascertain whether anything of its doctrine was so far repugnant to that of the former, as to render it improper to employ Brethren to instruct the negroes in Christianity. A Committee was accordingly appointed, waited on his Grace, and in their report state, that he had been pleased to declare, "That he had long been acquainted through books with the Church of the Moravian Brethren, and that they were apostolical and episcopal, not maintaining any doctrines repugnant to the thirty-nine Articles, and that he was confirmed in these sentiments of them by the Conferences he had lately with Count Zinzendorf, one of their Brethren, and Director of the Church of the Moravians at Herrnhut."

[21] Their independent attitude with respect to the established Churches of the Continent was sufficient to bring them into disfavor, and to subject them to annoyances or persecution. A parallel case was that of the dissenters in Great Britain.

[22] Frederic the Great. The Brethren's settlements in Silesia at this time were Gnadenfrei, Gnadenberg, and Neusalz.

were the sole cause of all the clamor raised against the Brethren there.[23] The Governor, wondered however, and it seemed to him very singular, that just when the Act in behalf of the Brethren passed in England, an edict against them should appear in Hanover. To which it was answered that the Hanoverian edict was undoubtedly to be imputed to the clergy. Here we observed, that it was no unusual thing that persons who stepped out of the common road in matters of religion (though ever such good subjects and peaceable people) were evilly intreated and spoken of by the world as had always been the case: which he readily acknowledged to be true. Here the Governor repeated that for his part he had neither seen nor heard anything justly to our prejudice, and would not have us look upon him as a person ill-disposed towards us. It was told him Mr. Spangenberg and the Brethren were sensible this was true. "For my part," said he, "I have nothing against their going among the Indians; but you are sensible I have but one vote, neither can I answer for every person's conduct who goes thither. 'Tis certain every one has a liberty of going among the Indians, especially being invited, when he pleaseth, which is not in our power to forbid. But it's another thing, when persons require our passport." Yes, said we, 'tis very true; but our Brethren loved to do all things openly and in sight of the Government, under which they lived, and therefore would not take this step without first acquainting the Governor with it. He answered; this he knew; adding, "you may assure Mr. Spangenberg from me, that I have no objection to their taking a pass from the Governor of New York! The Brethren may act therein as they think fit." Upon which we respectfully took our leave.

Signed: JACOB ROGERS,
JOHN OKELY.

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[23] The displeasure with which the Brethren's movement in Holland and in the Dutch Colonies abroad was viewed by the Established Church of that country, culminated in the promulgation of a Pastoral Letter in October of 1738 by the Classis of Amsterdam. For a German translation of this fierce invective entitled "*Väterlicher Hirten-brief an die blühende Reformirte Gemeine in Amsterdam zur Entdeckung von, und Warnung gegen die gefährliche Irrthümer von denen Leuten welche unter dem Nahmen der Herrnhuter bekannt sind,*" the reader is referred to the *Büdingen Collection. Part IX, No. 1.*

SKETCH

OF THE

EARLY HISTORY OF LITITZ,

1742–75.

BY

H. A. BRICKENSTEIN.

SKETCH

OF THE

EARLY HISTORY OF LITITZ.

1742-75.

BY H. A. BRICKENSTEIN.

In the month of December, 1742, in the course of a farewell visitation of some of the various groups of German settlers in the Eastern section of the Colony of Pennsylvania, amongst whom itinerant ministers from the Moravian settlement at Bethlehem had for several years been laboring, Count Zinzendorf came to the house of Jacob Huber, in Warwick township, Lancaster County, where he delivered an address in the evening. George Klein,[1] Huber's nearest neighbor, knew of the meeting, but, having a prejudice against Zinzendorf, did not attend. It was a time of religious awakening amongst the Pennsylvania Germans, brought about largely through the evangelical testimony of the Brethren, and during the night Klein's mind became much disturbed on account of his conduct and he resolved to follow the Count to Lancaster on the following day. This he did, heard Zinzendorf preach in the court-house, and was deeply moved. At the meeting at Huber's house Zinzendorf had been requested to send the people a minister. This he soon afterwards did in the person of Jacob Lischy, a Swiss, who was a very gifted preacher. Lischy also took charge of the mission work amongst the Reformed at Muddy Creek (near

[1] A native of Kirchart, Baden; settled in Warwick township about 1740; died at Bethlehem in July, 1783.

the present Reamstown).[2] Many persons were awakened under his preaching, among them Paul Lesson, "one of the French refugees," and old George Kiesel and his two sons, who occupied the farm adjoining Klein's to the south. Lischy gradually became first estranged and then (1747) an open enemy of the Brethren. Other evangelists were sent from Bethlehem to take up the work he had relinquished, among them Christian Henry Rauch (afterwards a noted missionary amongst the Indians and in the West Indies), David Bruce (formerly a Scotch Presbyterian), Abraham Reinke (a Swedish Lutheran), and others.

In the year 1744 a log church was built on Klein's land, at the instance of a number of the attendants on the preaching of the Rev. Lawrence Nyberg, a Lutheran minister from Sweden, who was stationed at Lancaster and occasionally preached in this vicinity. He entered heartily into Zinzendorf's plans for a union amongst all the Churches, though he had been sent to this country to oppose them. His preaching was very acceptable; under it a number of persons were awakened and desired stated preaching. This church stood near the road to Lancaster, on the ground now occupied by "the old grave-yard." It was known by the name of St. James' Church, having been dedicated by Nyberg on the festival of St. James, July 25, 1744. Here he preached statedly once a month for two years. In 1746 he was suspended from his ministry, owing to his independent views and the character of his preaching, so that during this year he preached every Sunday at St. James' Church and opened his pulpit to the various itinerant Moravian ministers on their visits to this section.

At a Synod of the Moravians, held in the court-house at Lancaster after every effort had been made to prevent them from so doing, a request was presented by a number of awakened persons in Warwick township that they might have a pastor to reside among them. In September, 1745, the Rev. Daniel Neibert and his wife, from Philadelphia, were sent to them. They took up

[2] No attempt, at this time or subsequently, was made at proselyting in these and similar activities of the Brethren. Zinzendorf emphatically protested against any such spirit and used all his great influence to promote a union of Christians of all denominations. For a while he succeeded in uniting the discordant sects into one body, the "Pennsylvania Synod," but his efforts only brought about a temporary truce.

their quarters first at the house of Henry Stœhr, afterwards with Peter Kohl.

Neibert's work was entirely pastoral, consisting in visits from house to house, and in keeping private meetings on week-day evenings.

In May, 1746, he moved into a small room which Jacob Scherzer had built for his use, and in it these meetings were then held.

In September a meeting was held at George Klein's house to consider the question of building a school and meeting-house (as distinguished from "the church"). The following were present: Nicholas and Frederic Kiesel, Hartman Vertries, Michael Erb, Jacob Scherzer, Jacob Neil, John Bender, Sr., Christian Palmer, Jacob Scheffler, besides the Revs. Messrs. Nyberg, Rauch, and Neibert. The unanimous conclusion was that they would each contribute toward building a *Gemeinhaus*,[3] to serve the purposes, as was the Moravian arrangement elsewhere, of a dwelling-place for the minister and as a school and meeting-house. Klein donated three and three-quarter acres[4] of his land for this purpose and for a garden and a meadow. In November the cellar was dug; March 29, 1747, the corner-stone was laid by Nyberg and Neibert; May 24, 1748, the Rev. Leonard Schnell, the successor of Neibert, who was called to Heidelberg, occupied the house, and commenced the school with four boys and three girls, his wife teaching the latter. June 28, the Rev. Reinhard Ronner and wife arrived from Bethlehem as assistants in the school and pastoral work, Schnell being also charged with the work of preaching and visiting at Muddy Creek, Heidelberg, Lancaster, Tulpehocken, Quittopehille, Donegal and "beyond the Susquehanna." August 11,

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[3] This house stood on the eastern part of Klein's farm, on the declivity of a slight hill, north of the property now owned by Benjamin Badarf. Subsequent to 1763 it was used as a school and as a stopping-place for members of the *Landgemeine* when they came to church on Sunday. It is usually designated in the later diaries, etc., as the "Warwick School House." In February, 1766, it was taken down (being built of logs) and re-erected on one of the lots opposite the Square, now occupied by Mrs. Diehm, its uses being the same as before. The building was destroyed in the fire of July, 1838, when three other houses were consumed.

[4] A draft of the land belonging to the *Gemeinhaus*, made in 1754, gives the area as eight acres, twenty-three perches, so that Klein must have made an additional grant, or some more land was added to it when the Brethren came into possession.

the first love-feast was held in the *Gemeinhaus* by Bishop Nathaniel Seidel, from Bethlehem. September 4, the first Wednesday evening meeting was held. November 13, George Klein and Leonardt Bender, who lived on the Conestoga, were received into the communion of the Brethren's Church, at Bethlehem, the first to be so received not only in Warwick, but in the Colony, all the members at Bethlehem and Nazareth being recent emigrants from Europe. November 24, the following were received as members at Heidelberg: George Kiesel, Sr., and his wife; Frederic Kiesel and wife; Jacob Scherzer and wife; Anna Klein, wife of George Klein, and Verona Rudy. (Henry Rudy was received at Bethlehem, January 26, and Nicholas Kiesel and wife, May 26, 1749.)

February 9, 1749, the Brethren Spangenberg, de Watteville, Seidel and others from Bethlehem were present to dedicate the *Gemeinhaus* and to organize the "Warwick Country Congregation." The first communion in this house was held on this day.[5] From November 20–23 a Provincial Synod was held in Warwick, on which occasion a number of new members (twenty-two) were received.

During the year 1749 the following itinerant ministers preached and visited in Warwick and the other country congregations: Christian Henry Rauch, Leonard Schnell, Samuel Utley, and Abraham Reinke. Teachers of the school until 1756 were the Ronners already mentioned, to June, 1751; George and Susan Nixdorff, to September, 1753; Frederic and Barbara Schlegel, to February, 1755, when they were succeeded by Michael and Regina Zahm.

September 5, 1751, the first marriage in the congregation took place, that of Peter Ricksecker, a widower from Donegal, to the widow Barbara Bort.

August, 1752, Bishop Matthew Hehl arrived on a visitation.

November 7, 1753, on the occasion of the interment of Michael Erb in the grave-yard at St. James' Church, a beginning was made with dividing off the ground into sections, so that those of the same sex and "class" might be interred together. Before this time interments had been made promiscuously. Sections were also reserved for "Society members" and for strangers. On December 9, Bishop Peter Bœhler organized a "Society," that is, a class of

[5] February 9 was thereafter observed as the *Gemeinfest* of the Warwick Congregation.

persons who, whilst they were not members of the Warwick church, desired to be under the spiritual supervision of its pastors and to share in the ordinary and special church services.

October 7, 1754, the Church Council[6] was organized by Bishop Spangenberg. At this first meeting George Klein, who had in fact acted as such from the beginning, and Valentine Grosch, of Hempfield township, were elected stewards of the congregation. They were charged with the supervision of the outward affairs, the care of the church buildings, collections for the ministers' support, etc.

The Warwick congregation was a *Land Gemeine,* that is, a country congregation, the members of which lived scattered on their farms, and not in a close settlement, as was the case at Bethlehem and Nazareth. The former was the "Pilgrim Congregation," that is, the members were missionaries or in training for such service, or were laboring for the support of those who were continually coming and going at the call of the Church in its activity amongst the Indians and the negro slaves in the West Indies and Surinam, or in what we should now call its home-mission, or its "diaspora" labors in Pennsylvania and the adjoining Colonies. Nazareth was the "Patriarchs' Plan," being composed mainly of farmers, who tilled their land and gathered in the harvests for the same common purpose. Both these congregations were, of necessity, peculiarly constituted. The members lived in close quarters and with the greatest economy, surrendering many individual rights, and putting the proceeds of their labor into a common treasury. Not every one was fitted for the labors, restrictions and self-denials of such a social and religious community, and as emigrants continued to arrive from Europe who might not be suitable and willing members of either of these settlements, it was resolved by Zinzendorf and Spangenberg to provide a third Church-settlement (*Gemeinort*) in Pennsylvania, which should not only answer the purposes just mentioned, but also afford a home for such Church-members in the Colonies who desired closer spiritual supervision and fellowship than could be obtained in the Country Congregations, in which the members lived widely scat-

[6] The *ufseher Collegium,* or Church Committee, was not organized until 1770. The Council met very frequently and took cognizance of matters of the smallest detail. At first the Council consisted of only a few members elected from amongst the male communicants.

tered from each other. Two locations for such a settlement had been thought of, at *Gnadenhöhe*, near the old grave-yard at Nazareth, and at *Gnadenstadt*, near the Rose Tavern, back of the present Schœneck, in Northampton County, but nothing came of these plans. Warwick was that one of the Country Congregations which by its situation and rapid increase seemed best fitted for this settlement.

In 1753 George Klein had made an offer to Spangenberg to donate his entire farm for the use of the Church. Upon Spangenberg's return from Europe in 1754, Klein repeated this offer in positive terms, announcing his purpose to retire to Bethlehem with his wife and adopted daughter. August 20, 1754, the legal transfer of the property [7] to the Unity of the Brethren was made.

In the Spring of this year Klein had built a two-story stone house [8] near his log house, without having any definite purpose in regard to it. This house afterwards gave the direction to the main street of the village, and accounts for the fact that it does not run due East and West. It was used mainly as a dwelling for the ministers, but also as a meeting-place for the congregation, along with the Warwick *Gemeinhaus*, until 1761. The tavern and store were afterwards also temporarily in this building.

The general superintendence of the country congregations had been committed to Bishop Hehl, and as the new settlement was to be a center for them, it might have been taken for granted that Hehl should take up his residence here. This question, however, was taken up and discussed at a conference of the Elders held

[7] George Klein held three Proprietary patents, dated 1741, 1747, and 1755, in all for 511 acres. In 1752 he sold 20 acres, leaving 491 acres, which comprised the land donated to the Church. He received an annuity of £70 during his life, this sum being charged as the rent of the land and paid by the Lititz church to the Administrator for Klein's use. Only a small part of the land was under cultivation, the rest was woods and brush.

August 1, 1755, Henry Haller arrived from Allemängel (or Lynn) to take charge of the farm. He took up his quarters in Klein's log house "at the Spring." From an incidental reference in the Church Diary it appears that this house stood on the North side of the creek, as would be inferred from the fact that the barn was there. The latter is marked on the draft made in 1758; the former not. The site of the barn corresponds with that still standing on what was the "Lititz farm," now the property of Daniel Burkholder.

[8] This house was on the South side of the creek. It was torn down in the year 1866. It occupied the site of the house now owned by Peter S. Reist.

August 18, after the meeting of the Synod,[9] which had met in the stone house, and continued in session from August 13 to 17. Spangenberg stated the reasons *pro* and *con* for his own, Bœhler's, or Hehl's appointment. The decision was left to the lot. Four folded slips of paper were provided, on one of which the Latin word *est* (he is the one) was written, so that it was possible that neither of them might be designated. After a fervent prayer each one took up a slip, Bishop Hehl receiving the one with the *est*. He was accordingly charged with the organization and guidance of the new settlement,[10] in external as well as spiritual affairs, as also the supervision of the various country churches.[11] November 9 he arrived from Bethlehem and took up his residence in the stone house, which it was the custom thereafter to call the *Pilgerhaus*.[12]

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[9] From Bethlehem and Nazareth 58 members were present; from the country congregations, 38. Counting guests and friends over 300 were present at the sessions. The ministers of the country churches lodged and boarded in the stone house; the Bethlehem ministers in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus*.

[10] His supervision extended over the following churches: Lititz, Warwick, Allemängel (Lynn township, Northampton Co.), Mill Creek (12 miles from Heidelberg), Muddy Creek (near the present Reamstown), Donegal (near Mount Joy), Heidelberg and Oley (in Berks Co.), Quittopehille, Hebron and Bethel (in Lebanon Co.), Lancaster, Yorktown (now York) and Grist Creek, Monocacy (now Graceham, Md.), and Carroll's Manor (Md.). Regular visits were also made from Lititz to Hempfield township, and for a time Earlington (probably Earl township) was supplied with stated preaching.

A short biography of Hehl is given in these *Transactions*, pp. 264–269, Series II, Parts 4 and 5. He labored at Lititz for twenty-eight years, visiting the churches in his diocese with the utmost regularity, often under great difficulties. He was also a member of the Provincial Elders' Conference at Bethlehem. He died December 4, 1787, aged 82 years, and was buried on the 9th, at the upper end of the Lititz grave-yard, on the right hand of the main avenue. He was a man of great theological learning, a graduate of the University of Tübingen, an eloquent preacher, a fine hymn writer, a judicious counselor and faithful pastor, a humble, honest man, an untiring worker in the Master's vineyard.

[11] "*In hoc respectu sedem Ignatianam*" Zinzendorf had called the new settlement, referring probably to the church at Antioch, over which Bishop Ignatius presided, and which was a center of early Christian activity in the country roundabout. In the document placed in the corner-stone of the new *Gemeinhaus* (the present parsonage) the following language is used concerning the building: "Das Gemeinhaus in dem Brüder-Städtchen Lititz, welches nach dem Bezeugen des Jüngers des Herrn [Zinzendorf] die Destination hat Sedes Episcopalis Ignatiana zu seyn."

[12] In the church diary of 1756 mention is made of the fact that three families were living in the house, Bishop Hehl, Bishop David Nitschmann, and the Rev. D. Neibert. It served, besides, as mentioned above, also as one of the meeting-places of the congregation, the Warwick *Gemeinhaus*, commonly called the School House, being the other.

In the beginning of the year 1756 a number of refugees[13] arrived from Donegal and Bethel, fleeing from a threatened incursion of the Indians. Some of them brought their effects with them, which were stowed away in the apparently never crowded *Pilgerhaus*.

On June 12 letters were received from Zinzendorf, in which, amongst the rest, he gave the name Lititz[14] to the new settlement, after the barony Lititz in Bohemia, where the infant Church of the Ancient Brethren, by permission of George Podiebrad, King of Bohemia, had found a refuge in 1456, just three hundred years before.

During this year the Rev. Daniel Neibert commenced the building of a small stone house for a school house.

The following extracts from the church diary will perhaps present the best picture of the growth of the new settlement and of its religious, social and industrial character. The extracts are not given literally, nor always in the present tense and first person, for brevity's sake.

1756.

August 13.—The Rev.[15] David Bischoff and his colony, from Bethlehem for North Carolina, arrived here and proceeded on the 16th.

August 14.—Brother Nathaniel [Bishop Seidel] inspected the site of the proposed mill.

August 20, 21.—Bro. Haller, with his assistants, removed the old house[16] from the large spring to the hill between the School House and Heil's. It is to serve as a dwelling for the workmen at the mill. Bro. Neibert laid the first sill, and on the 22d the logs were put in place.

March 6.—Bro. Christian Frederick Steinman and his wife Anna

[13] From Donegal came the Baumgærtner, Paul Lesson, and Tschudy families; from Bethel, the Jungblut, Williams, and the widows Spittler and Albert families. The majority of these remained permanently. Four of the members of the Bethel congregation were murdered by the Indians June 26, 1756, and buried the next day. Their graves are still to be found in the grave-yard.

[14] This is the correct spelling, as it is found in the Bohemian language. In German the second *t* is unnecessary for the pronunciation, and it was often dropped in writing, just as Schweinitz was written Schweiniz, and Warwick, Warwik. In the early diaries, etc., the two spellings are used interchangeably.

[15] The title Rev. is used to designate the ministers. In the diary every one is "Brother."

[16] This house had probably belonged to some earlier settler or squatter.

Regina, from Bethlehem, arrived. They were to board the workmen. Steinman brought them their dinner to the mill-site.

March 26.—We had bread baked from the flour made in the North Carolina mill, brought here by the two returning wagons.[17]

December 24.—The Lititz members kept a love-feast at which several invited guests from the Warwick Society were present. The New Year's Eve watch-meeting they held by themselves.

1757.

January 10.—George Klein[18] concluded the purchase of a small piece of land below Jacob Heil's, on which John Bender's sons had built a small saw mill.[19] Our grist and saw mill are to be built on this race.

February 9.—Bro. Nathaniel and Bro. Reuter began a survey of the streets and lots.[20] On the next day Bro. Christensen, an experienced millwright, arrived from Bethlehem to superintend the erection of the mill. He had examined the site in the previous

[17] Similar entries occur frequently. "The North Carolina wagon" passed through Lititz regularly every few months to and from the Moravian colony there. It also afforded one means for the transportation of passengers between Bethlehem and Lititz.

[18] On the occasion of Klein's fifty-third birthday, which he spent at Lititz, Bro. George Neisser, who was at that time *Ordinarius* of the congregation, greeted him in the following poetical manner:

Jetzt vor drei hundert Jahren hat
König George Podiebrad
Lititz zu einer Brüderheim't
Für unsre Väter eingeräumt:
Und da uns jetzt George Klein
Auch alle seine Ländereyen
Zusammen überlassen hat;
Walts Gott! da bauen wir eine Stadt.

[19] This mill was poorly built and not equipped for doing good work. It was used for cutting the timbers and boards for the grist mill, and was then torn down and replaced by a new and better saw mill. The adding of a fulling mill was also discussed. This was afterwards built farther up the creek.

[20] Some of the regulations in regard to the town-plot, buildings, etc., were the following: The street was to be 60 ft. wide from house to house, reserving 7 ft. before each for a side-walk in the future, or for trees or a hedge. Each lot was to have a front of 66 ft. and be 200 ft. deep. Two houses might adjoin each other on the line between two lots, thus leaving more space on the open sides. (This was afterwards forbidden.) One of the conditions must be that people should not build worthless houses (*nichtsnutzige Häuser*). All the houses, even those of one story, must have a strong foundation, so that an additional story could be built upon it. The size of the houses was 33x25 ft. in the clear. Two-story houses were to be built near the Square. One-story houses might have a garret room. All family

autumn. All the workmen came from Bethlehem and formed a little religious community of their own, Christensen being appointed as their spiritual leader also. On the 12th the exact site was finally determined by Bro. Nathaniel, Bishop David Nitschmann, and the Brethren Christensen, Neibert, and Graff (a mason from Lancaster); on the 13th the felling of trees was commenced; on the 22d, thirteen men began quarrying stones. April 18, four unmarried men occupied the house which was included in the purchase of the mill site. A special liturgy was arranged for them. The mill building was to be 30 feet square, with two rooms above for the miller. There were to be three pair of stones, the saw mill to be under the same roof, and a two-story stone-house built aside of the mill. Haller, the farmer, was to provide teams for hauling. Some of the Warwick brethren also agreed to assist, and were to receive some renumeration. Haller should be careful to take receipts for all payments. Steinman was to be provided with money for provisions by Neibert. The board of the workmen should be of the kind usually found in the country. (The brethren and sisters on the farm were advised that in eating and drinking and other things they should place themselves "on the same footing as in Bethlehem," which probably means that they were to be more economical.) The iron used in the mill could be procured from Bethlehem; tools, from Huber in Christian's Spring; the millstones, files for the saw, glass for the windows and a grind-stone, from Lancaster. Dry poplar boards were to be provided. The sawing of boards, etc., was continued at night. Some of the timber was cut on the Cocalico (four miles distant). The wheels were to be of "Zuckerholz" (maple?) or beech. Some of the iron needed was procured at the nearest forge.

The new saw-mill was raised July 7.

Thirty-three bushels of wheat were received from the country brethren for the benefit of the (Moravian) Indians.

April 18.—Lewis Cassler from Philadelphia took up a house lot, and made an agreement to build a house, the first private place in the settlement (probably on the site of Israel Erb's present residence).

May 2.—Nicholas Jungblut and family arrived as refugees from

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houses should have two doors in front and behind. (This was not, however, carried out.) Properly constructed frame or log houses might be placed on the street line. The rent paid for an acre of land was 3 shillings; for meadows, 6 shillings. No allowance was to be made for fencing or grubbing, and it was understood that no one would get all he could out of the land and then throw it up, for as Spangenberg remarks in a letter written Dec. 15, 1761, "*das wäre nicht hübsch.*" The corner lots should be reserved for such mechanics as would need a separate shop, *e. g.*, wheelwright, blacksmith, etc. The "road to Tulpehocken," now North Broad St., it was thought would be best adapted for business places.

Hebron, and occupied "the little house on the upper side of the large spring."

August 15.—The grist-mill was raised, without injury to any one.

August 24.—Bishop Spangenberg, with the assistance of Bro. Reuter, laid out the Square and the lots in front of the houses which are to be erected for the Single Brethren and the Single Sisters. In the evening, after service, the young men with Bro. Spangenberg repaired to the ground which had been staked off for their new building and sang a number of hymns.

In *October*, Bro. Neibert commenced to wall up the cellar of his new house, a few lots beyond the *Pilgerhaus*.

Sister Nitschmann will attend to the spinning, provide flax, keep an account and hold a love-feast every two weeks with the sisters.

Bro. Neibert will speak to the workmen at the mill about a reduction of their wages, so that they can be kept at work.[21]

Bro. George Klein made an agreement with Hess concerning raising the water in the mill dam so that Hess could lead the water on his land.

November 11.—The mill[22] was started, and on the 18th our Lititz family had bread from some of the first flour made.

Work at the saw-mill is to be pushed so that it will be ready for sawing the timbers for the new choir houses.

At the close of the year the membership of Lititz and Warwick combined consisted of 253 persons, 105 being children.

1758.

January 18.—A church council was held and the members were asked what building timber each one would contribute for the two choir houses, as also what labor in quarrying stone.

In *February* the Warwick brethren were busy hauling logs to the saw-mill.

Nicholas Henry Eberhard, the *Pfleger* of the Single Brethren, was the superintendent of the building operations. The architect was Bro. Gottlieb Petzold, *Pfleger* of the Single Brethren at Bethlehem.

In *March* the making of a "stove" for drying boards was discussed.

In *April* a number of refugees arrived from Donegal, the Indians having again threatened hostilities. They remained until May 11.

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[21] This must refer to the workmen who were not members of the Church. The Bethlehem brethren received their board and clothing, but no wages in money. One item in the minutes of the Conference that had the management of the outward affairs, Bishop D. Nitschmann being one, is this: "John Garrison ought to have a winter coat as soon as possible."

[22] This mill (a log structure) was destroyed by fire, early in the morning of Nov. 25. 1775. Over one thousand bushels of grain were destroyed—a great loss. It was immediately rebuilt of stone.

April 20.—The saw-mill went into operation and worked well. There were from 70 to 77 children in the school.

April 27.—Frederick Weiser and family arrived as refugees from Tulpehocken.

May 5.—The old barn from "the place at the large spring" was moved to George Klein's former dwelling-place, on the other side of the creek, where it is to be changed into a house for the use of the workmen at the choir-houses.

June.—The small house near the schoolhouse, which had been occupied by the workmen at the mill, as noted above, was given to the Single Brethren to commence their "economy." The large house for their use was to be built as the means were provided.

June 7.—The corner-stone of the Single Sisters' House was laid by Bishop Spangenberg.

July.—One of the horses of the North Carolina Colony became sick here—the brown mare. Haller gave them in place his brown horse.

In *August* and the following months an epidemic fever and dysentery prevailed. Ten persons died.

October 15.—The class or "choir" of the Single Brethren was organized. Six brethren from Bethlehem moved into the above mentioned house. The dormitory was under the roof.

November 5.—The child, John Baumgærtner, the first child born in Lititz (September 26) died on this day, and was buried on the day following, being the first interment in the new grave-yard, which was laid out on the hill to the south of the present church. The congregation assembled in the *Pilgerhaus*, where Bishop Hehl made an address, and then went in procession to the place of burial. After the litany had been prayed he fell on his knees, and in a solemn prayer dedicated the new cemetery.[23]

November 10.—Baumgærtners occupied their new house.

November 11.—The statutes for the government of the new community were publicly read.

By the end of the year the Sisters' House was finished as far as the third story, and Cassler's house was almost ready to be occupied.

The order of religious services on week days was the following:

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[23] It is not altogether clear what order was observed hereafter in interments, whether the rule was invariable that members of the country congregation were buried in the St. James's church-yard and members of the Lititz congregation in the new cemetery. Further investigation of the list of Lititz church members might clear up this uncertainty. As a rule, interments took place on the day after the decease. The old grave-yard is still preserved, kept under fence and the grass kept down, but few of the grave-stones are visible. Many of the first settlers and members of the Church are buried here. The first two grave-diggers for the new graveyard were the Brethren Heil and Baumgærtner.

In the evening "precisely at 6 o'clock" was supper, and immediately after it the liturgy. To this the people in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus* might also come, Hallers also, if they could. The Saturday and Sunday liturgy was held in the evening at 5 o'clock. To this came the brethren and sisters in the Warwick *Gemeinhaus* and also those at the mill.

The daily morning-prayer was kept in the time between rising and breakfast, for which a signal was given. In the resting-hour after dinner there was a general meeting, at which one of Zinzendorf's addresses was read, or there was a singing meeting. This was open to all who chose to come. Bro. Haller brought along from Philadelphia a bell which was used to give notice of the time of meeting.

At the close of the year the membership numbered 277, of which 98 were children.

1759.

January.—Claus Coelln arrived from Bethlehem. He was the master carpenter at the choir house buildings.

February.—Jacob Scherzer and Nicholas Kiesel were elected stewards.

February 18.—Bro. Petrus [Bœhler] kept the litany, the preaching, the children's meeting with love-feast, the "choir homilies" (short discourses to each choir separately) and the "*Gemeinstunde*" (address), at which six persons were received into the Church.

April 14. *Easter.*—Early in the morning a liturgy was held, first in the grave-yard at St. James' Church, and immediately afterwards in Lititz. This was the first double service of this kind.

May 4.—Lewis Cassler and family, from Philadelphia, occupied his new house.

May 14.—At a common meeting of the Lititz and Warwick brethren and sisters, Spangenberg announced that henceforward the two congregations of Lititz and Warwick would be united into one, which should bear the name of Lititz.

July 3.—Bro. Petrus (Bœhler) and Bro. Gottlieb (Petzold), and the ministers from the country congregations at Oley, Heidelberg, Lebanon, Donegal, Lancaster and Yorktown, with about fifty young men from these places, arrived to take part in the ceremony of laying the corner-stone. This took place on

July 4, in the afternoon. Bro. Petrus first delivered an address in the *Saal.* The congregation then proceeded to the place of building, the brethren occupying the front, the sisters standing behind them. Bro. Gottlieb laid the stone, and then kneeling upon it offered prayer. Afterwards the brethren had a love-feast.[24]

[24] In the document deposited in the stone the year 1759 is called a "remarkable year for the Church and Choir of the Single Brethren on account of the attempt

August 6.—The brethren from Heidelberg brought two thousand shingles for the Lititz choir houses.

August 7.—The residents in Lititz subscribed the statutes as also their leases and bonds, after the form of these had received the assent of the King's Attorney.

August 22.—The rafters of the Sisters' House roof were raised. All the Warwick brethren who were not sick (an epidemic fever was prevailing in this whole section) assisted.

August 23.—Doctor Schmidt, from Bethlehem arrived to look after the sick.

November 14.—Brother Golkowsy arrived from Bethlehem, to revise and renew the lines of the Lititz land, and to stake off the outlots. (The draft made by him in the year before, which is finely executed, was based on surveys and drafts made previously by the Brethren Oerter and Reuter. It is still in existence and hangs in the room of the Board of Trustees.)

December 24.—The children had their first Christmas Eve service. (In 1765 mention is made of lighted tapers being presented to each child.)

At the close of the year the membership numbered 292, there being 107 children.

1760.

June 21.—The Brethren Petzold and Matthew Schropp arrived to make preparations for the meeting of the Synod, which was in session from the 26th to the 29th.

The necessity of building a [larger] *Gemeinhaus* in the settlement was discussed. The brethren expressed their willingness to assist. The need of a tavern was also recognized.

"During the Synod Martin Bœhler and family quietly withdrew from us, without saying a word in advance, or making any explanations afterwards, and betook themselves again to the Reformed denomination."

August 25.—The news arrived of Zinzendorf's death.

October 16.—Bro. Haller moved into the new farm-house across the creek, and the house "at the Spring"[25] vacated by him was occupied by Dr. Frederic Otto,[26] the first physician in Lititz.

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of the two brethren Hocker and Pilders to penetrate to Abyssinia and to convey to the Church in that country [the Coptic] the salutations of the Brethren's Unity; and on account of the journey of a number of single brethren to the Malabar Coast and the Nicobar Islands, in the East Indies, in order to establish a Mission there."

[25] The location of this house it is not possible to identify.

[26] He had been serving as physician at Bethlehem. He brought along a letter from Spangenberg, which begins thus: "Here come Bro. Otto and his wife, both of whom we commend to a hearty reception on your part. We have dismissed

October 22.—A child, son of Bro. Heil, was drowned in the spring, aged 1 year, 7 months.

It was resolved to use a part (the western end) of the lower story of the Sisters' House temporarily for a *Gemeinsaal* and as a dwelling for Bro. Hehl.

The proposal was made to use the *Pilgerhaus* (in which Hehl and others lived) for a store. As was done at Bethlehem, it might be commenced on a small scale. The tavern was afterwards also temporarily located in this house. The spot designated for the tavern was the two extreme western lots on the south side of the street (its present location). It was to be as large as the one at Bethlehem, but only the half of it to be built at that time and to be erected in such a way that it could afterwards be moved back to serve as an outhouse or barn, when a more substantial building should be put up.

December 23.—Melchior Conrad, carpenter and wagoner, accepted a call to the mission in the Island of St. Thomas. It was resolved to hold a collection every Sunday to pay the expense of lighting the *Saal.*

The membership at the close of the year was 257, 97 being children.

1761.

February 25.—The new road from Reading to Anderson's Ferry (Columbia?) on the Susquehanna was laid out, and the trees cut down. The street of Lititz was included in it.

In *April* Bishop David Nitschmann returned to Bethlehem, having been here for four years and assisting by his counsel and the work of his hands in getting the new settlement fairly started. Mention is made of the circumstance that there being no one else to do it, he laid the floor of a certain house.

May 21–24.—A Provincial Synod was held in the second story

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them heartily, thankful for the many and faithful services which he has rendered to us. The understanding with him is that he is to remain in "the economy [*i. e.*, be considered and provided for as a servant of the Church]. The apothecary-supplies which he brings with him have been taken from ours, and Lititz will be charged with them. He is to live alone, but can not well have a servant in the house, nor can they cook or wash for themselves. The reason is that Sister Otto can not well attend to such things. She is not used to it." It was proposed that they should be supplied from Bro. Hehl's table. The apothecary shop was to be charged with what he got, and credited with his receipts. Bro. Eberhardt was to see that he was provided with an assistant in the garden and in compounding drugs, "so that this faithful old servant of the Church may not again have things too hard for him. In Bethlehem he has passed through many hardships, and has worked very hard."

of the Brethren's House, the first use to which it was put, although it was in an unfinished state, only the floors being laid.

June 20.—The single brethren, ten in number, removed from their temporary quarters above mentioned into their new house, one of them being David Zeisberger, afterwards the great Indian apostle.

November 19.—The new organ arrived from Bethlehem. (It had been bought with the voluntary contributions of the members for £40.) Bro. Tanneberger put it up in the new meeting-hall on the first floor of the Sisters' House, which was used for the meetings of the congregation until September, 1763. The organ was used for the first time in the first service December 1, the organist being Bro. John Thomas.

December 5.—The Brethren's House was dedicated.[27]

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[27] The Brethren's and Sisters' Houses were built under the management of Bro. Eberhardt, the money being supplied, so far as appears from the accounts, mainly from the general Church funds and partly by money borrowed from individuals. Some of the entries show that collections were taken up in Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, New York, etc. The accounts of the two Houses appear not to have been kept separate until the month of December, when the Brethren occupied their House. At that time much remained to be done in the interior, some doors to be hung, banisters to be put in place, and the whole third story was unfinished, the floor not even being laid. The expense of finishing their building now became a charge on the "economy" of the Single Brethren. The capital debt resting on both Houses was about £1392 (Pennsylvania currency); that on the Sisters' House being £493, on the Brethren's, £899. The following items are extracted from the very detailed accounts that were kept by Eberhardt. A present to the master mason at the laying of the corner-stone, 15s. A quire of paper cost 1s. 5d.; the wages of the men who quarried stones were some 2s., some 2s. 6d., and of one 3s. per day, which included their board, which cost 9d. per day; boring a pump stalk cost 2s. per foot; a load of sand 5s.; 71 lbs. of powder were used in blasting rocks in the cellar of the Sisters' House, at a cost of £9 15s. 3d.; one thousand bricks cost from 17s. to 22s.; a drill 3s. 3d.; steeling a drill 1s.; 1½ bushels oats for the teamsters who brought the shingles presented by the Heidelberg brethren, 2s 3d.; fetching 1100 ft. of boards, which were presented by Yorktown brethren, from the Susquehanna, 15s.; dinner for nine of the young men who helped dig the cellar, 3s.; smoked pork, 5d. and 4½d. per lb.; bacon, 6d. per lb. (for the workmen in summer); Sebastian Graff, the master mason, made frequent advances on the Lancaster collection (he came from Lancaster), and Bro. Gottlieb (Petzold) appears frequently as having brought in money; Christian Rudy contributed seven days' labor; potatoes were 2s. per bushel; a house door cost 9s., a room door 4s. 6d., window frames 3s. 6d. (these were all of oak); lime was sold at 6d. per bushel; powder cost 2s. 9d. per lb., sulphur, for blasting, 8d. per lb., a bucket, 1s. 6d., 1 doz. wooden plates 2s., 1 pr. candle snuffers 10d., a cake knife 10d., 1 lb. pepper, 2s. 9d., 1 bush. salt 2s. 9d., 1 lb. allspice 1s. 2d, 1 bush. dried apples 3s., a children's text-book for the workmen 6d.; many of the heavy timbers were bought from neighbors, at about 1s. each in the tree; a saw cost 14s., 50 lbs. of rice, 11s. 1 d., a grubbing hoe 1s. 2d., an iron pan 5s. 6d., 1 lb.

December 8.—A "Committee for Temporal Affairs," or a "Committee of Arbitrators," as it was also called, was appointed, consisting of nine brethren, six of whom were laymen.

December 15.—Bro. Hehl and his wife removed from the *Pilgerhaus*, where they had lived since 1756, into the rooms on the first floor of the Sisters' House, opposite to the *Saal*. They were the first to occupy the House.

The propriety of using several of the ministers (there were at this time at least five in Lititz) for preaching and visiting in the neighborhood, was considered.

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butter 6d. to 1s. 6d.; 1 lb. candles, 9d., 1 gall. vinegar, 10d., 1 cwt. flour, 10s.; interest was reckoned at 6 per cent.; glass cost 1s. 6d. per pane, size 10 by 12 in., poplar boards cost £3 per 1,000 feet., wages of the cook (a brother) were £1 12s. per month, including board; sugar was 7d. to 9d. per lb., coffee 11d. per lb.; nails were brought from Bethlehem, costing for lath nails 11d. per lb., 5 in. nails 10d., shingle nails 11d., plastering nails, 1s. 6d., (they were all wrought by hand); Bro. Horsfield sent at one time a present of £6.; fresh meat was 2d. per lb.; linseed oil, 5s., milk 4d. per gall.; eggs 4d. per dozen; George Klein and Gottlieb Petzold gave a bond to secure a loan of £100, (the latter did this in several other cases); for labor to "Sebastian Graff's negro," 5s. was paid; white lead was 10d. per lb.; there were 630¼ perches of masonry in the Sisters' House, at 3s.; cellar masonry cost 1s. 6d. (helpers' wages apparently not included); when the pointing of the stones was finished, the masons received a present of 6s. 9d.; some of the boards were brought from Muddy Creek; carpenters' wages, with board, were 1s. 8d.; wheat was between 4s. and 5s. per bush.; a lead pencil, 3d.; £3 was paid for a cow; wages appear to have risen toward the close of the work, as also the price of provisions, some carpenters receiving now 3s. per day. It is pleasing to note that one of the workmen contributed regularly, about once a month, 4d. to the communion collection; a cap cost 2s. 6d.; a bbl. of cider, 14s.; lead, 8d. per lb.; linen, for shirts, 2s. 6d. per yd.; laths (of split oak) 11s. per 1,000; binding a Bible for one of the workmen 6s.; window sash, with 15 lights, 7s. each; a wheelbarrow, 11s. 6d.; making a shirt, 1s.; 1 lb. woolen yarn, 2s.; a bed sheet, 4s. 6d.; a deer skin (to be used as a chest protector for one of the workmen), 9s.; a tile for a stove in the Sisters' House, 4d.; 1 pr. hinges for door, 3s. 3d.; door locks, 10s.; house-door lock, 11s. 6d.; stove door, 7s. 6d.; an axe, 7s. 6d.; 1 pr. new shoes, 7s. 6d.; 1 pocket knife, 1s.; a coffin, 6s.; the bill for sawing the lumber for the choir houses amounted to £66, from which £16 was thrown off, and ten years' credit given for the balance, with interest; making a pair of leather breeches 7s. 6d., a [fine] shirt 10s., a jacket, 11s. 1d.; a cord of wood, 6s.; soling a pair of shoes 3s. 6d.; mutton per lb. 2½ d.; veal, 2d.; shoeing a horse, 2s. 6d.; white-washing brush, 2s. 3d.; crane and chain for hearth, £2 3s 9d.; a (tile) stove from Bethlehem, £2 3s. 6d. (seven stoves were bought and were set up by a potter from Bethlehem). The sale of various articles at the close of the building operations brought £3 15s. 5d. The cost of a journey from Bethlehem to Lititz and return, including feed for the horse, was £1 1s. (the horse hire probably is not reckoned).

In 1763, twenty-two single brethren, six youths, and six boys were inmates of the House.

The question of Bro. Hehl's support was discussed, and whilst it was thought that the country congregations ought to provide for this, still it was esteemed to be "an unpleasant method," and he was, therefore, to continue to receive his support from "the economy."

At the close of the year the communicant membership in Lititz and Warwick numbered 92 (46 in each), the total membership being 257, in which 87 were children.

It was recommended that the Sunday dinner in families should not be prepared until all the services were over, so that there might be no neglect of these on the part of any one.

No Text Book having arrived, it was resolved to use that of the present year again.

1762.

January 16.—First communion in the *Saal* in the Sisters' House. The surplice was used for the first time.

February 2.—Bro. Horn, who was also the *Vorsteher* (executive manager of the temporal concerns), received his license from the Court as innkeeper. As above mentioned, a portion of the *Pilgerhaus* was used for this purpose. He also commenced a store for the sale of tea, coffee, etc.

March 16.—Bro. Gottlieb Petzold, the general superintendent of the single brethren in America, came to Lititz to install Bro. Lorenz Bagge as the *Pfleger* of the single brethren here. The same day he was taken sick; on April 1 he died, and was buried on the 5th. He had been a very energetic promoter of and helper in Lititz affairs.

May 14.—Seven single sisters arrived from Bethlehem in a wagon, as residents in the Sisters' House. One of them, however, Catharine Wright, returned immediately to the place whence she had come.

May 17.—The corner-stone of the new *Gemeinhaus* was laid by Bishop Hehl, Bishops Spangenberg and Bœhler assisting. The document which was placed in the stone, is dated "in the second year of the reign of the most glorious George III of Great Britain, and in the 306th year since the building of the Ancient Brethren's settlement of Lititz in Bohemia."[28] A list of the servants of the Church who were present embraces the names of

[28] The cost of the building was to be provided by a loan in Bethlehem. For four years the interest was to be raised by voluntary subscriptions. After this time, it was hoped that the profits of the store and inn would meet this charge. Eberhardt, who was assistant *Vorsteher*, was again manager. He was a very thorough executive man and a skillful book-keeper. He was to charge two-thirds of what he needed for his subsistence to the building, and the other third to the "economy," *i. e.*, the mill, etc., the books of which he also kept. He paid £20 to the Brethren's House for board, lodging and light.

four Bishops, two Ordinarii (Presbyters, such ministers as had the full charge of a congregation) sixteen deacons, six male acolytes,[29] five female elders,[30] eight deaconesses,[31] six female acolytes,[32] three stewards of the congregation, the superintendent of the farm, the financial superintendent of the Single Brethren's economy.

May 18.—The Single Sisters' chapel was consecrated.[33]

May 26.—Bro. Rusmeyer, who was an Ordinarius, and had served the congregation and school for four years, and was about to follow a call to Lancaster, preached his last sermon in Lititz.

June 26.—Doctor Otto removed his apothecary shop to the stone house which Bro. Neibert had commenced, but the Economy had finished.

July 22.—David Zeisberger, Senior, arrived, in order to attend the treaty with the Indians at Lancaster.

October 14.—The rafters of the new *Gemeinhaus* roof were raised, without injury to any one.

"To-morrow a week the letter messenger leaves here," is an interesting entry in the diary. Communication with Bethlehem and other congregations was very frequent, besides the regular letter carrying, which seems to have been attended to by each of the congregations, including the country congregations, taking its turn in furnishing the messenger.

The propriety of having an "English meeting" every two weeks was discussed. A beginning was made August 22, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Three "copper pence" per member was fixed as the proper love-feast tax; and two pence for the expenses of the communion. In the matter of contributions, it is remarked, that Lititz and Warwick have fallen behind.

The Single Brethren undertook the duty of ringing the bell for rising in the morning, but first their house-clock must be put in place.

December 5.—To-day the quarterly collection for the general expenses of the congregation will be taken up.

December 13.—The road and space before the *Gemeinsaal* is exceedingly muddy and should be repaired. Bro. Horn will attend to strewing shavings on it, so that it may be somewhat passable.

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[29] These were all laymen, engaged in some form of Church work, mainly external.

[30] Wives of the Bishops.

[31] The *Pflegerin* of the Single Sisters, wives of deacons and others whose exact position I am unable to determine.

[32] One was the wife of a Presbyter; another of the *Vorsteher*; another of the physician, who was a deacon; another, the assistant to the *Pflegerin*.

[33] It is singular that the diary omits any mention of the dedication of the Sisters' House as such.

"On Sunday evenings, when there is generally a liturgy before the *Gemeinstunde*, whole candles are to be placed on the candlesticks and all, around the whole room, are to be lighted. During the liturgy the *Diener* and *Dienerinnen* are to snuff the candles when they begin to burn dim. Bro. Horn is to procure oil to be burnt in the lantern at the outside door."

The Sisters experienced difficulty in procuring work, particularly in the wool-spinning. Bro. Horn will inquire whether orders could not be procured from Philadelphia.

A market house was projected and two lots opposite the Square were reserved for it. It was, however, not built.

1763.

June 23.—Bro. Rœsler and wife started on their round of visits amongst the children in the country congregations. They returned August 18.

August 9.—The day of thanksgiving appointed by the government for the return of peace (after the French and Indian War) was duly observed, many of our neighbors being present at the services.

August 22.—Bishop Hehl moved into the *Gemeinhaus* from his temporary residence in the Sisters' House. On the 24th, Bro. Francke, his assistant, also moved into the building.[34] The latter acted also as physician, Doctor Otto having returned to Bethlehem.

September 16.—The first meeting was held in the new *Gemeinhaus*, by the ministers and members of the *Stundengebet*. On the evening of the 17th a farewell meeting was held in *Saal* in the Sisters' House, which had been occupied for twenty-one months. On the 18th was the dedication. First came a liturgy and prayer by Bishop Hehl; then, the first sermon by Bishop Bœhler, his text being Rom. 1 : 16, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ." He preached with remarkable power and unction. Over three hundred persons were present. Then came the first children's meeting, held by Bro. Krogstrup. Afterwards a love-feast, at which a history of the rise and progress of the work of the Lord here and in the neighborhood was communicated. The services closed with a communion, at which one hundred and twenty-five members were present. This date, September 18, was thereafter kept as the *Gemeinfest*.

September 23.—Bro. Marshall held a preparatory meeting with the stewards, and on the 25th he met the Church Council, in which he described at length the financial condition of the settlement, and encouraged the brethren to give liberally towards the general ex-

[34] For several years three ministers' families occupied this house and had a common housekeeping. As it contained also the *Saal* and a room for the meeting of the Conference, quarters must have been rather confined.

penses, the paying of the interest on the loans made and the support of their ministers. In this every one who considered himself a member of Christ's body, and was not himself in need of alms, should take part.

September 26–30.—Raising of the roof of the new inn (a log house).

October 30.—The mulatto-girl Margaret[35] entered service with Brother Horn's family, at the inn.

December 15.—Received the terrible news of the massacre of the Manorland Indians by white men, first at their settlement, eight miles from Lancaster, and then in the work-house at Lancaster.

1764

January 3.—Brother John Thomas received permission to commence a bread bakery.

January 4.—At the day of appeal at Lancaster we presented a memorial against our excessive taxation. In consequence two-thirds of it were remitted, and the whole of Lititz is hereafter to be taxed as one family.

February 8.—Received the news of the dangers which had threatened our Indians in the barracks at Philadelphia at the hands of the Paxton Boys, and of their remarkable deliverance.

April 6.—Andrew Horn and John Klein went to Philadelphia to be naturalized.

April 12.—Our new (recast) bell was hung on a scaffold before the Brethren's House. It cost £14, and came from Philadelphia.

May 24.—Two families arrived here from Hebron with all their effects, the Indians having made an attack only six miles from Bethel, murdered three persons, and carried off two boys.

May 25.—Brother Horn moved out of the stone house, where the inn had been temporarily located, and which was now purchased by Brother Tanneberger, to the new inn, *Zum Anker* (Anchor Inn),[36] "out on the Lancaster road."[37]

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[35] She was afterwards received into the Church.

[36] In *Scribner's Magazine* for January, 1880, in a paper based upon the diary of the Hon. William Ellery of his journey, in the year 1777, on horseback from Dighton, Mass., to York, where Congress was then in session, Mr. Ellery being a member, the diary has this notice of Lititz:

"*November* 14.—Crossed the Schuylkill, dined at Miller's, near the town of Ephrata, *al. dic.* [*alii dicunt* = *alias*] Dunkard's Town, and lodged at Leditz, a little Moravian settlement, where we lodged in clover.

"We lodged in cabins [no doubt the old-fashioned German 'box-beds'] about three feet wide. A straw bed was at the bottom, a feather bed on that, sheets, a thin soft feather bed supplied the place of blankets, and a neat calico coverlid all; and our lodging room was kept warm during the night by a neat earthen stove, which in form resembled a case of drawers."

[37] There was a small log house at the eastern limit of the settlement, south of the Warwick school-house, which is called on the draft of 1758 "*Das Fremden Logis*" and in the diary "*Gasthof*." After the new inn was finished, this building

July 15.—Regular Sunday collections were instituted, the boxes being placed at the doors of the *Saal.*

Brother Westhœfer was made *Fremdendiener* (his office being to conduct visitors about the place).

September 1.—Christian Fenstermacher arrived from Philadelphia in order to take charge of the store.

September 21.—John Brown, from Philadelphia, became assistant to Brother Horn at the inn.

November 24.—David Zeisberger gave an account of the massacre of the Indians on the Mahony, of which he had been a witness.

The Memorabilia of the year 1764 were written in verse by Bro. Mattheus. The whole membership was 304, of whom 98 were children.

1765.

January.—A boys' and girls' school[38] was commenced.

February 21.—The Brethren Grosch and Thomas were appointed fire inspectors.[39]

March 22, 23.—Snow fell without interruption, so that it was impossible to get from one house to another, and only one service could be held on the latter day (Sunday) towards evening.

March 28.—The ground was staked off for our wool-carding mill[40] on the creek. (Work was commenced immediately. In June the mill was put into operation.)

April 7.—The Easter sermon was preached in St. James' Church.

May 12.—A colony of the Frey family from Heidelberg for North

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was used by the Warwick brethren as a stopping-place on Sundays and at other times when there were services for them.

[38] This appears to have been in addition to the school in the old Warwick *Gemeinhaus*, which was probably now intended only for children from the neighborhood. In May, 1769, the corner-stone of a separate school for girls was laid, which was occupied in November of this year. Before this the girls had had school in the Sisters' House.

[39] The subject of protection from fire was constantly debated and the most minute directions were given and insisted on in the building of houses and shops, the placing of bake-ovens and fire-places, the sweeping and burning out of chimneys. Live coals must be carried in a covered pot when taken from house to house, and the smoking of segars in the street was not tolerated. It was not until 1790 that a fire engine was procured from Neuwied. Each householder was provided with one or more leather buckets.

[40] In 1771 the St. James' Church, a log structure, being unused and out of repair, was sold to the Single Brethren and removed to their carding-mill, to serve as a house for the miller. The proceeds of the sale were used in improvements on the Warwick School House. A portion of the mill is still standing. The church continued to be used regularly for the Sunday morning preaching and for funerals until about 1765, but after the completion of the new *Saal* in 1763, there was a manifest indisposition to make much use of "the church."

Carolina, rested here for a day. There were twenty-four of them, old and young, from great-grandfather to great-grandchildren.

June 4.—Brother Grosch was appointed steward for the Sisters' House.

June 27.—There was so hard a frost that garden vegetables and fruit were much damaged.

June 30.—The subscription towards paying the debts of the Unity was opened.

July 3.—The rye harvest commenced, and the Single Sisters were busy cutting it (with sickles).

September 3.—Various gentlemen were here, among the rest Col. Clayton, who has had much to do with our Indian affairs, and found much to talk about with Brother Grube (who had been a missionary among the Indians).

1766.

October 1.—Several of our Brethren went to Lancaster to the election, which, thank God! turned out peaceably.

October 14.—A large bear was seen in the evening in the yard of the Brethren's House. It was followed, but not caught.

November 11.—On this day town lots were to be sold on Jacob Huber's land, immediately adjoining ours, but the project came to nought.

December 25.—An unusual crowd of persons was present at the Christmas sermon, mostly young people.

1767.

February 2.—The wish was expressed by the Conference that our people might be more attentive to strangers present at our services, and in general to our neighborhood.

March 1.—The congregation was reminded of the third centenary jubilee of the consecration of bishops in the Ancient Brethren's Church, in the year 1467.

May 21.—On a pastoral visit in the country, Brother Grube lost his way near Manheim, and came upon an old Indian woman (her husband was absent), who was happy as a child that Brother Grube could speak the Delaware language, a little of which she understood. This pair are remnants of the Conestoga Indians.

October 16.—Brother Payne, from Bethlehem, moved into the Fenstermacher house and took charge of the store, which is henceforth to be the property of the church.

1768.

October 2.—Brother Francke went to Lancaster to get the loan of household utensils and furniture for use during the approaching Synod.

November 17.—Various musicians from Lancaster came to inspect Brother David Tanneberger's[41] new organ (built for a church in Maxatany).

1769.

March.—A small-pox epidemic broke out, prevailing mostly among the children, so that the girls' school was closed for several months. Three children in the Kiesel family died.

In *April* Brother Sproge made under the steps at the *Gemeinhaus*, by which the male portion of the congregation entered, a temporary vault for the reception of dead bodies until the funeral.[42] The builder's body was the first to be deposited in this "corpse chapel," as it was called, in the next month.

September 19.—A beginning was made in the *Singstunde* of reading aloud to the congregation Part III of the smaller hymn book. This was continued until the whole book had been communicated.

December 24.—Bro. Mattheus preached the Christmas sermon on this day and announced that there would be no preaching on Christmas Day, in order to avoid the collecting here of great crowds of young people, who have created much disturbance and given much offense during the past years.

1770.

July 2.—The newly constituted *Aufseher Collegium*, which took the place of the former "Committee for Temporal Affairs," held its first meeting. Bro. Francke was chairman. The first business considered was "the difficult affair" of regulating the irrigation of the various meadows. (A ditch had been dug from the head of the large spring, along the north side of the stream, which supplied the meadows with water.)

July 21.—Lightning has already struck once into the store, so that the powder ought to be removed to some place at a distance.

August 27.—The people on the Cocalico sent in a request for a donation towards building a bridge over that stream. £3 were voted.

Boys and girls ought not to be permitted to play together at the large spring.

[41] Tanneberger was a skillful organ-builder, and had quite an extended reputation as such. Besides various places in Pennsylvania, we find from a loose memorandum that his organs were sent to Baltimore, Madison, Va., and Salem, N. C. He also made pianos, the cost of one being £22 10s. He made the organ for the new church, which was built in 1786. This organ was used until 1880; its cost was three hundred and fifty pounds (about one thousand dollars.) Tanneberger was the designer of the new steeple of the present church.

[42] This vault still remains under the present parsonage. The arrangement was probably occasioned by the smallness of the houses or, in many instances, their crowded condition. When the present corpse-house was built could not be learned.

Brother Hehl preached to between 700 and 800 people in the woods, at the mineral spring at Muddy Creek.

September 28.—A church council resolved that each householder should lay a pavement of some kind before his house.

December 3.—The printing[43] of a portion of the smaller hymn-book for the use of the children was ordered at Ephrata.

December 26.—Brother Bill Henry[44] (Justice of the Peace at Lancaster) spent the day here, and attended to the indenturing of six boys as apprentices.

1771.

January 20.—Young William Henry, from Lancaster, came here to take lessons on the piano from Bro. Grube. (The latter was an accomplished musician and a composer of very pleasing choir music, on classic models, some of which is still used in our older churches.) Young Henry afterwards remained altogether at Lititz until he had finished learning his trade of gunsmith with Bro. Andrew Albrecht.

February.—The need of more and more skilled mechanics was recognized—of the latter, "because we have Lancaster so near."

February 15.—We had the pleasure of welcoming the visitators from Europe, the Brn. Gregor, Loretz and von Schweinitz, in company with Bro. Nathanael. (These brethren remained until March 1, making a very thorough visitation of the congregation and a minute examination into economical affairs. Bro. Gregor presented to "the large church council" a statement of the indebtedness of the Unity and called upon all to take part in reducing the same. Bro. Nathanael a few days afterwards received from the individual members subscriptions towards this object.)

March 22.—It was announced that Bro. Nathanael, as owner, had by a general lease transferred the Lititz lands to Bro. Francke,

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[43] Almost every trade except printing was carried on in the village or the Brethren's House. There was a smith, tailor, baker, nailmaker, tanner, mason, tilemaker, tinsmith, saddler, linen and wool weaver, gun and locksmith, bookbinder, potter, shoemaker, carpenter, wheelwright. In the Sisters' House stockings were woven and linen cloth was made, besides needle-work of various kinds, and confectionery.

[44] William Henry (born in Chester Co., in 1729) opened an iron-store in Lancaster in 1759. He united with the Brethren's Church in that town in 1765, after a severe inward struggle, having been a member of the Church of England, and then in pursuit of spiritual peace, uniting with the Quakers. A sermon of Bishop Bœhler in Lancaster cleared away his doubts and he united with "the despised Moravians." He was a man universally esteemed, held many important offices, and was afterwards a member of Congress from Pennsylvania. He rendered the Brethren in Lititz many very valuable services. He is very frequently designated in the diaries by the above familiar name.

the Warden, "for the use and benefit of the congregation in Lititz and to the support of congregational expenses."

A copy of Cranz's History of the Brethren's Church was received. Portions of it were read to the congregation on *Gemeintage*. (These were meetings held about once a month, on week-days, at which reports from the Missions and the monthly diaries of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Bethabara, etc., were communicated.)

April 13.—After long waiting (since November) we received our first letters from Wachovia.

May 9.—After the evening meeting the *Beter Versammlung* [Band of Intercessors], including the Acolytes, united in partaking of the cup of covenant.

In this month, in accordance with a resolution of the General Synod, the *Anstalten* (for boys and girls) were converted into ordinary schools. (The former appear to have been schools of a higher grade and were perhaps of a more select character. May 22, 1769, the corner-stone of a *Mädchen Anstalt* had been laid; Nov. 14, it was occupied by the girls, who had occupied a room in the Sisters' House since Aug. 21, 1766. After a lovefeast they "went over to this new house," which appears to have been that part of the present Linden Hall Seminary which is now the Principal's study and a part of the dining-room.) "The two teachers who had lived in the *Anstalt* moved over into the Sisters' House and took little Elizabeth Ricksecker with them, in order to take special care of her."

May 28.—After having finished the Harmony of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in our Bible Lecture, we have now taken up the Epistles, in the order in which they were written.

June 24.—Festival of the little boys. There was morning-prayer (*Fest Morgen Segen*), a general children's meeting, "classes," lovefeast, a festival homily and *das Anbeten*.

July 7.—In the afternoon, at four o'clock, there was a meeting with the married brethren, in which the subjects of the education of children and of school discipline were presented to them. (These meetings were frequently held, as were similar ones for mothers.)

July 12.—We were glad to welcome Bro. David Zeisberger from Languntontenünk, on the Ohio.

July 27.—Jacob, the Mulatto, originally from Berbice, S. A., assistant cook in the Brethren's House, was betrothed to the Mulatto sister Margaret Christler. They were married on the 30th by Bro. Grube, after an address by Bro. Hehl. They went to Christiansbrunn to live.

August 4.—In our meeting for the reading of reports from our congregations, as the Gospel was "Jesus wept over Jerusalem," and as the 10th is the anniversary of the entire destruction of this city, the story of this event from Josephus' History was read.

August 11.—The diary of Wachovia from March to June was read to the congregation, together with an account of the "Regulator" disturbances in that country and of the preservation of our congregations from all harm in these dangerous times.

August 13–24.—The visitators above mentioned paid a second visit, on their way to North Carolina, accompanied by Bro. Ettwein. (They returned Nov. 30, after having been three weeks on the road from Bethabara.)

September.—"Since so many persons from Bethlehem come here to be cured by Mister Blanck, it would be well if they notified us of their coming."

December.—The price of chimney sweeping was fixed: the *Gemeinhaus* and the two Choir Houses, for each chimney, 1s. 6d.; for two-story houses, 1s. 4d.; for one-story houses, 9d. Chimneys must be swept at least three times a year; in the above first named houses, every eight weeks.

The Indian sister Martha came to live at Lititz.[45]

December 28.—For the winter months the arrangement for holding the communion is this: one communion on Saturday evening, and a second one on Sunday morning before preaching. (It had before been kept on Saturday afternoon, at 4 o'clock.) The communion *agapen* (lovefeasts) were held, as before, on Sunday afternoon.

1772.

February 9.—We had a blessed *Gemeintag*, in six sessions.

April 30.—The well known English and German "ambulatory" preacher, L. Leist, paid us a visit and attended our evening service. He visited a number of the brethren. He is a man who seeks to preach nothing but Jesus the Crucified, as he has himself made experience of Him. He comes from an ordinary farmer's family.

June 16.—We received letters from Wachovia. Our brethren were well, but there was a famine in that region and throughout the whole of Virginia.

June 24.—Bro. Nathanael received the contributions towards liquidating the debt of the Unity.

July 31.—Several prominent gentlemen from Lancaster examined Bro. Tanneberger's organ factory and were well satisfied with it.

August 27.—Greenbury Peddycourt[46] and his sister Sally, from

[45] She was the daughter of Thomas, one of the Helpers at Shecomeko, had lived at Nain and gone through the terrible experiences in the barracks at Philadelphia. She was a mantuamaker by trade, served for several years as teacher in the girls' school, and lived in the Sisters' House. She died in 1783.

[46] This is a name that occurs very frequently in the diary. He was a carpenter by trade, and evidently a man of genuine good nature and with the true Christian's readiness to serve his brethren. He was a sort of universal helper, performing offices which others were reluctant to assume and was trusted to attend

Carroll's Manor, arrived. They will remain here in their respective choir houses.

September 18.—Mr. Marklane, from Carroll's Manor, arrived, with his daughter. (He was the gentleman at whose house our Brethren lodged when they came to preach in this vicinity.)

September 23.—Bro. Ettwein stopped here on his return from the Indian country. He had conducted the Indian congregation of Friedenshütten, Pennsylvania, to Languntontenünk, and Welhiktuppeck, on the Ohio, from June 8 to August 1.

September 24.—Bro. Joseph Powell set out on a visit to Deer Creek [Harford Co., Maryland], at the mouth of the Susquehanna, having received an invitation from the well known Mr. Langley, who has reported to us concerning some awakened people in that vicinity and their desire to become acquainted with the Brethren.

September 30.—Three Lutheran ministers, Kunz, Schulze and Mühlenberg, Jr., called on Bro. Mattheus and examined the Gemein and Choir Houses. Old Mr. Mühlenberg conversed in a very friendly way with Bro. Horn at the inn, and was very much pleased to get a copy of Cranz's History.

October 2.—Bro. Powell returned from Deer Creek, where he preached several times, also to the negroes, and was well received.

October 14.—Bro. Daniel Hausser, from Greenland, New Jersey, came to examine our mill.

November 4.—Bro. Francke moved out of the *Gemeinhaus* into the so-called *Kinderhaus*, aside of the Sisters' House, (presumably the same as the *Anstalt* referred to above), and from this date the arrangement was made that the Brethren Hehl, Grube and Francke should each have their own housekeeping, instead of a common one as heretofore.

November 30.—Mr. Marklane took his daughter home with him, as she could not make up her mind to remain permanently in the Sisters' House.

December 4.—In company with Bro. Nixdorff, two Indian messengers, who had come with a message from the chiefs at Newcomerstown (Ohio) for the Governor at Philadelphia, stopped here on their return. One of them was Jo Peepe. They took along letters to Bro. Zeisberger and the Texts for next year.

1773.

February 12.—Bro. Blickensdœrfer returned with his team from Bethlehem, where he had gone with a load of iron.

May 30.—Bro. William Henry, of Lancaster, brought his little

to them well. He rang the church bell at the dinner hour, wound up the church clock, kept the fire engine in repair, visited the sick soldiers when a hospital of the American army was established here, was a member of the Church Committee, etc.

daughter Elizabeth, eight years of age. She was placed under the special charge of Sister Bürstein in the *Kinder Haus.*

July 1.—The church council resolved that it should not be permitted to our young people to wander around on the farms in fruit-time, as they are in the habit of doing, often without any companions or older persons; and that during harvest no improper conduct shall be allowed.

July 20.—We recommenced our noonday liturgy, which had been omitted during the harvest.

August 20.—Two Quakeresses visited the Sisters' House, engaged in religious conversation, and attended the evening meeting.

September 15.—Some gentlemen visited the place and attended the evening singing-meeting, which they thought was quite too short.

November 2.—Bro. John Becker will succeed Bro. Payne as store keeper.

November 10.—Bro. Nathanael returned to Bethlehem, after a month's visitation here and in the neighboring congregations.

1774.

January.—As there had been trouble in meeting the interest on the loan made for building the *Gemeinhaus,* the pastors had a consultation with ten of the laymen on the subject, who expressed their willingness to attend to this matter, in conjunction with the other Brethren.

March.—A quantity of yarn and wash, which had been left to dry over night in the yard of the Sisters' House, was stolen, and it was recommended that a watch be kept on suspicious persons who are passing to and fro.

April.—Sister Polly Penry went to Lancaster to learn the art of making some new kind of embroidery.

A meeting of the Brethren was held to consider the question whether anything could be done to prevent the running at large in the streets of cows.

Mr. Rebsdorff, formerly Governor of the Island of St. Croix, and Capt. Barge, arrived here on their way from Charlestown, *via* Salem, N. C., to Philadelphia. They were well acquainted with our missionaries on that island, and spoke of them in high terms.

May 3, 4.—From six to eight inches of snow fell, followed by severe frosts during the next two nights. Much damage was done to fruit-trees, grain and grass.

July 7.—A public advertisement having summoned all the freeholders of this county to meet at Lancaster on the ninth, for an election of a committee and deputies to Congress, in Philadelphia, a meeting was held with all the freeholders to consult what should be our position in the serious conjuncture which has arisen between

the colonies and the mother country. The conclusion reached was that Brother Horn should be our representative; that we would seek to be quiet and not permit party-spirit to come up among us; and that we will answer those who wish to know our feelings that we desire peace to be maintained. (The Brethren, like their neighbors, the Dunkards and Mennonites, were non-jurors and non-combatants, and had been recognized as such by the British Parliament.)

July 20.—A printed notice was received that at the meeting of the freeholders in Lancaster it had been resolved, in order to assist the army in Boston, that a collection should be taken up in this county in order to purchase supplies for it, and that a collector would shortly arrive to receive our contributions. After a good deal of discussion in the council it was determined that each brother should give or not give as he felt disposed or had the means, and that no brother should enter into any argument with the collector concerning his giving or not giving, for we will not make cause with either party.

December 26.—To-day the organ, lately built by Brother Tanneberger (it has twenty registers) for the Lutheran church at Lancaster, was consecrated. Dr. Adam Kuhn was here several days ago to ask that our trombone players[47] might assist on this occasion. Accordingly five brethren with trombones and hautboys started early in the morning and took part in the tunes at two preaching services.

1775.

February 27.—In a council attention was drawn to the measure adopted by Congress regarding the use of tea, which is now strictly enforced throughout the land. It was resolved that the sale of tea in our store shall cease.

March 4.—A letter from the Elders' Conference in Lititz to the General Synod was read and approved, in which Bro. David Zeisberger was recommended as our deputy, and in conjunction with the Brethren Gregor and Loretz, was authorized to speak for Lititz.

April 29.—To our dismay, we received the news of the bloody action between the Royal troops and the Americans at Charlestown and Bunker Hill, near Boston.

June 2.—Bishop Seidel wrote from Bethlehem that, in the

[47] The first mention of church musicians occurs in 1765; in 1766 the rendering of a choir-piece is mentioned. Bro. Grube, one of the pastors, was director of the choir and orchestra. In 1768 a formal organization took place, and a collection was taken thereafter regularly for the purchase of instruments and music. In 1775 a new set of trombones was received from Europe. The cost was £7 17s. 6d., which was covered by a voluntary subscription.

present serious times, it became us to be quiet and inactive, but that, because of our conscientious convictions regarding going to war and taking an oath, a declaration had been presented to Congress through Mr. Franklin, which had been favorably received.

June 11.—The two Township Committeemen have appointed a meeting at the inn and have asked for the appointment of six advisory members, the purpose being to promote peace, quiet and equality amongst the inhabitants of the township, and to prevent and put down any disturbance of the peace which may be threatened or actually occur. Bro. Horn was chosen as one of the members. It was understood that those who would personally have nothing to do with the war would pledge themselves to assist in gifts of money for the necessary expenses of the country.

July 20.—We observed, with all the American Provinces, the day of fasting and prayer appointed by the Continental Congress. We interceded with God our Saviour for ourselves and the whole land, and for George III, our lawful king, and his government. The first meeting was at 9 o'clock in the morning, consisting of prayer and the litany. At 10 o'clock Bro. Mattheus preached from Isa. 4 : 6. In the afternoon Bro. Grube preached the second sermon from Joel 2 : 12-27. After this Bro. Rœsler kept a Bible lecture on Dan. 9. Afterwards each choir had a separate meeting in the following order, the children, the single sisters, the older girls, the married people, the single brethren, the older boys. In the evening Bro. Mattheus kept a *Gemeinstunde*, interspersed with singing.

July 29.—Congress and the Assembly having ordered that non-associators, *i. e.*, those who refuse to bear arms, shall contribute in money to the expenses of the country, the Brethren David Tanneberger, of Lititz, and Christopher Frey, representing the country members, were appointed collectors.

August 1.—We received information of the manner in which our brethren at Bethlehem have resolved to act in these war times. They have, once for all, refused to bear arms and have made an open and formal declaration to that effect. As to the contributions in money, that is to be regarded as a purely township affair, with which neither the conference nor the congregation as such has anything to do. Four brethren are appointed to attend to this matter in accordance with our duty as citizens.

August 2.—The militia company of the township had this time chosen Lititz as the place to drill, which they did on the Lancaster road near the inn. Everything passed off in good order.

October 1—In Lancaster there was an election for Representatives of the Province. A great multitude of people was assembled.

October 14.—The township company, after their drill, made such a disturbance that further drills here were forbidden.

November 25.—Bro. Hopsch, the night watch in the Brethren's House, discovered a fire at a distance which proved to be our grist and saw mill, both of which were destroyed. The house and stable were saved. (In the rebuilding, which was immediately resolved upon, Bro. Kreiter acted as inspector, and Bro. Henry Frey as master carpenter.)

December 10. *Gemeintag.*—We had reports from Cairo, Terra Labrador, Antigua, from the Indian mission on the Muskingum. and Bethlehem (the diary of October and November). In our Bible lectures we had read the Prophet Isaiah as far as chapter 39.

December 31.—After the usual meeting for the children, the communicant congregation assembled to hear the report of the seventh, eighth and ninth weeks of the General Synod. Then followed the midnight meeting.

At the close of the year the membership consisted of 319 persons, 76 being children and 179 communicants.

THE LITERARY WORKS

OF THE

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

BY

THE REV. G. TH. REICHELT, OF HERRNHUT, SAXONY.

Translated and Annotated by Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz.

THE LITERARY WORKS

OF THE

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH.

PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Rev. G. Th. Reichelt labored, for five years, as a missionary in South Africa; at present he is living in retirement at Herrnhut, where he devotes himself to literary pursuits. He has edited a Dutch and two Kaffre Hymnals and, at the instance of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Thibetan New Testament; for five years he was the assistant of the late Rev. Henry Augustus Jæschke, while this distinguished Thibetan scholar was engaged in bringing out his "Thibetan-English Lexicon," and in 1872 he published at Bautzen, Saxony, "Das Vatikanische Concil," comprising three very interesting lectures on the Vatican Council of 1869 and 1870.

It is a source of regret that "want of space," as he says, has induced Mr. Reichelt to withhold the original and complete titles of the works which he adduces. His treatise would be still more valuable, if he had given these titles in every case in which they could have been printed in ordinary type.

Having sent us his German manuscript with the request to translate and publish it in this country, we take great pleasure in doing so, and add notes of our own, as also to each section an appendix, in small type, of authorities relating to the Mission-fields mentioned in the text.

INTRODUCTION.

To present an exact list of the works written by Moravian missionaries in foreign languages is impossible. The existing collections are in no instance complete; and the most careful research has failed to trace every publication and manuscript belonging to this category. Nevertheless the more important can readily be given. From such an enumeration it will be seen that there has appeared quite a respectable number of missionary writings for the use of the converts, and of linguistical works for the use of the missionaries. For want of space the titles of these publications, in the following essay, are not given in full.

I.—THE LITERATURE OF THE MISSION IN GREENLAND.

Moravian Mission Established in 1733.

The language of Greenland is very difficult; and it was no easy task for the early missionaries to construct vocabularies and build up a grammar. It is true that they found Hans Egede in the country, who occupied himself with similar studies, and that his son, Paul Egede, arrived in 1734, and subsequently published a Greenland-Danish-Latin Lexicon (1750), a Greenland-Danish-Latin Grammar (1760), and completed (1766) the Greenland version of the New Testament begun by his father; but from these labors of their Danish colleagues they derived little benefit and were obliged to take a way of their own. In doing this their leader seems to have been *Königseer*, who, about 1780, wrote a *Greenland Grammar* and compiled various *Vocabularies*.[1] These works remained in manuscript; each newly arrived missionary making a copy of them for his own use. In course of time they were enlarged and improved.

A new impetus was given to the study of the Greenland tongue by *Conrad Kleinschmidt*, a man of varied talents.[2] He introduced an improved system of orthography, which had regard to the derivations of the words and has been adopted by all the Greenland missionaries, including those of the Danish Church; and discarded as a model the Latin grammar, which had been painfully followed by all his predecessors; treating the Greenland tongue according to its own peculiar idioms and the existing forms of its words. His *Grammar of the Greenland Language* appeared at Berlin in

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[1] Christopher Michael Königseer was Superintendent of the Greenland Mission from 1773 to 1786. He was born in 1723 in Thuringia, and studied at the Universities of Jena and Halle. He died in Greenland on the thirtieth of May, 1786. While on her way back to Europe his widow perished at sea.

[2] Conrad Kleinschmidt was the son of John Conrad Kleinschmidt, who entered the service of the Greenland Mission in 1793, and the brother of Frederick Emmanuel Kleinschmidt, a well-known clergyman and eloquent preacher of the German Province of the Church. He went to Greenland between forty and fifty years ago; married a native woman; and subsequently left the Moravian and joined the Danish Mission, although his relations to the Church of his birth continued to be of the most friendly character. Dates are wanting. As far as we know, he is dead.

In the Archives at Bethlehem there is a Greenland Dictionary in manuscript, by John Frederick Beyer, bearing the date New Herrnhut, in Greenland, April 16, 1750.

1851, and his *Greenland-Danish Lexicon* at Copenhagen, at a later time. He wrote also several school-books, among them a *Geography* and a *Natural History*, both of which gave him abundant opportunities to construct new words and formulate new terms for many things unknown to the Greenlanders. The most important of his undertakings was a *Version of the Old Testament*, upon which he bestowed extraordinary care and which, by this time, must be nearly completed. On a press presented by the church at Zeist, in Holland, he printed with his own hands a small edition of this work, as far as completed, for the benefit merely of the missionaries. The use of this press was cheerfully granted him, even after he had joined the Danish Mission and had been appointed Director of the Seminary at Godthaab.

The first edition of the *Greenland New Testament* appeared in 1823, under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was Egede's translation, revised and reconstructed. When the Old Testament, of which but single numbers have as yet been issued, will be completed, the Greenland Bible will undoubtedly be published in one volume. This volume can then, according to old usage, be presented to the natives, or according to a more recent custom, be sold to them. For the idea is spreading in Greenland also, that the converts should buy their books, and will no doubt be prevalent by the time the version is finished. There is great reason to fear, however, that a book of large size will be ruined even more quickly than smaller books in the exceedingly filthy dwellings of the Greenlanders.

The conviction is gaining ground among missionaries not only in Greenland but in other countries also, that a most important work for native Christians would be an Extract from the Old Testament, giving special prominence to doctrinal and other essential passages, with the Psalms as a supplement or bound up with the New Testament.

Other works in the Greenland tongue, that have appeared at different times are: *A Harmony of the Gospels; A Bible History; The Liturgy; The Hymnal* (last edition in 1882); *The Catechism; A Collection of Scripture Texts;* and various *Readers.* In some of these works the old orthography is retained.

The Mission in Greenland is therefore supplied with a complete literature for learning the language, for public service in the house

of God, and for the school. All that is wanting is a printed German-Greenland, or Danish-Greenland Dictionary.

For the young people a more comprehensive Reader would be a real boon, so constructed as to enlarge the mental horizon of the natives. This holds good of Labrador also, and in fact, of every Mission isolated from the rest of the world. When spiritual food is continuously and exclusively given, often in the same ever-recurring words, it is apt to blunt the aboriginal mind, and ought to be supplemented with other food, both intellectual and spiritual, calculated to rouse and incite.

Works treating of the Greenland Mission.

1. *David Cranz*, Historie von Grönland, insbesondere die Geschichte der dortigen Mission der Evangelischen Brüder. Barby und Leipzig, 1765, pp. 1132.
2. *David Crantz's* History of Greenland and particularly a Relation of the Mission carried on by the Unitas Fratrum, translated from the High-Dutch (by LaTrobe). London, 1767, 2 Vols., pp. 405 and 497.
3. The History of Greenland, including an Account of the Mission carried on by the United Brethren. From the German of *David Crantz.* With a Continuation to the present time. London, 1820, 2 Vols., pp. 359 and 323. A thoroughly revised and greatly improved edition of No. 2, edited by the Teachers of Fulneck School.
4. Die Anfänger der Brüdermission in Grönland. Matthæus Stach, Friederich Böhnisch, Johann Beck. Rothenburg, 1842, pp. 30.
5. The Moravians in Greenland. Third Edition. Edinburgh, 1839, pp. 360.
6. The Story of Moravian Missions in Greenland and Labrador. By H. L. L. London, 1873, pp. 144.
7. Greenland Missions, with Biographical Sketches of some of the principal converts. Dublin, 1831.
8. *Kœlbing's* Mission der Evangelischen Brüder in Grönland. Gnadau, 1831, pp. 254.
9. *Vormbaum's* Matthæus Stach und Johann Beck, Missionare der Brüdergemeine in Grönland. Bielefeld, 1853.
10. *Burkhardt's* Die Eskimos in Grönland und Labrador, Bielefeld, 1858.
11. Lives of Missionaries. Greenland: Matthew Stach and his Associates. London, Society for Promotion of Christian Knowledge. pp. 88–224.
12. *Brightwell, Miss.* Romance of Modern Missions. London. Religious Tract Society.
13. Missionary Worthies of the Moravian Church. Philadelphia. American Sunday School Union.
14. Missionary Stories. London, 1826.
15. Strangers in Greenland. American Tract Society.
16. Missionsbilder. Fünftes Heft. Calw, 1867.

II.—THE LITERATURE OF THE MISSION IN LABRADOR.

Exploratory Tour in 1752; Moravian Mission Established in 1770.

The literature of the Mission in Labrador is still richer than that of the Greenland Mission. There have been published the following works: *Erdmann's Esquimau-German and German-Esquimau Dictionary*, 1865; *The Holy Bible*, in five volumes

and various editions, the first edition of the New Testament having appeared in 1827 under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which, in 1830, issued five hundred copies of the Psalms as a separate publication; *The Hymnal; The Liturgy; A Bible History; Summary of Christian Doctrine; The Catechism; A Harmony of the Four Gospels;* together with other religious and a number of school-books. At the present time *Theodore Bourquin* is preparing an *Esquimau Grammar*, which will be published either in 1886 or 1887.[3]

The Esquimau language is closely related to that of Greenland, as closely perhaps as the Dutch to the Low-German. Those of the early missionaries who were familiar with the Greenland tongue found, on their arrival in Labrador, that they could make themselves understood without the aid of an interpreter. Hence Bourquin's grammar will no doubt, as far as possible, follow Kleinschmidt's method; while emendations in orthography similar to Kleinschmidt's have already been introduced, and the small "k" which he employs in order to express a guttural sound common to all Arctic dialects has, for some time, been in use in Labrador.

Works treating of the Labrador Mission.

1. *Kœbing's* Mission der Evangelischen Brüder in Labrador. Gnadau, 1831, pp. 180.
2. Missions in Labrador. Religious Tract and Book Society for Ireland. Dublin, 1831.
3. The Moravians in Labrador. Edinburgh, 1833.
4. A Visit to Labrador in the Autumn of 1848. London.
5. Appendix to Crantz's History of Greenland Mission, edition of 1820, containing: A Narrative of the First Settlement made by the United Brethren on the coast of Labrador. pp. 38.
6. History of the Mission of the Church of the United Brethren in Labrador for the past hundred years. With a Map of Labrador. London, 1871, pp. 52.
7. Die Missionare der Brüder-Unität in Labrador. Gnadau, 1871.
8. Brief Account of the Missionary Ships employed in the Service of the Mission on the Coast of Labrador, from the Year 1770 to 1877. London. July, 1877, pp. 26.
9. *Von Dewitz's* An der Küste Labradors. Niesky, 1881. pp. 58.
10. Memoir of the Life of Jens Haven, the First Missionary of the Brethren's Church to the Coast of Labrador. pp. 12.
11. Memoir of Benjamin Gottlieb Kohlmeister, Missionary among the Esquimaux in Labrador. London, 1845, pp. 24.
12. Memoir of George Kmoch, Missionary in Labrador. London, 1858.

The Mission recently begun in Alaska by the American branch of the Church of the Brethren will probably be able to make use

[3] Theodore Bourquin is Superintendent of the Mission in Labrador.

of the Labrador literature. For Miertsching, a former missionary in Labrador who accompanied as interpreter McClintock's expedition in search of Sir John Franklin, found that he could readily understand the natives of the extreme Northern and Northwestern regions of America, which include Alaska.[4]

III.—THE LITERATURE OF THE MISSION AMONG THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

Moravian Mission Begun in 1735.

David Zeisberger, the Apostle of the Western Indians,[5] and his coadjutors acquired, preached and wrote in the languages of the American aborigines; whereas now the English language is exclusively used at the three stations which remain.[6] In recent times, however, two young Indians have been educated at the Theological Seminary in Bethlehem and at Nazareth Hall, a Boarding School at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and through them the Indian language may perhaps again revive in this Mission.[7] Should this be the case some of the works written by David Zeisberger might again be brought into use.[8] These works are very numerous; and as we read his biography it is a source of growing astonishment that a man who was so constantly on journeys, who preached the Gospel with such indefatigable zeal, who founded so many churches and was so active in every other respect, had leisure for literary labors. If he had not spent more than sixty years of the eighty-seven years

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[4] The Revs. Adolphus Hartmann and William H. Weinland, who undertook an exploratory tour in 1884 among the Esquimaux of Alaska, found a great difference between the language of Alaska and the Esquimau dialect of Labrador as presented in Erdmann's Dictionary and the Esquimau New Testament. They came to the conclusion that a Labrador missionary would not be able to make himself understood.

[5] David Zeisberger was born in Moravia, April 11, 1721; came to America in 1738; entered the service of Indian Mission in 1746; served for sixty-two years; died at Goshen, Ohio, November 17, 1808.

[6] This is a mistake. At New Fairfield, Canada, the Indian language is still in use in public worship, every sermon being interpreted into that tongue.

[7] The author refers to the Rev. John H. Kilbuck, who is no longer among the Indians in Canada, but has gone as a missionary to Alaska, and to James Stonefish, the son of the Chief on the Moravian Reservation in Canada.

[8] The Delaware works of Zeisberger are written in what might be called the classic language common in his day; at the present time the prevailing language among the remnant of the Delawares is the Monsey dialect, and there are but few of them that can read and understand the tongue of their fathers.

of his earthly pilgrimage in the service of the Indian Mission and during all this time manifested an unwearied diligence, this would have been impossible.

We adduce his writings according to the enumeration given by Bishop de Schweinitz in his "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," and are glad to have such a source, because only a small part of them has found its way to the Archives at Herrnhut. They are the following:

1. Essay of a Delaware Indian and English Spelling Book, for the Use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on the Muskingum River. Philadelphia, 1776, pp. 113. This work embraces reading lessons, words, and phrases; as also an appendix containing the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and a short Litany, all in Delaware and English. A second edition appeared in 1806, without the appendix. The original manuscript, which is preserved in the Archives at Bethlehem, gives in place of the appendix, a Bible History, in Delaware and English, in parallel columns; Reading Lessons in Delaware; conjugations of the verbs "to say" and "to tell" in Delaware and English; and the Delaware numerals.

2. A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the Christian Indians. Philadelphia, 1803, pp. 358. Contains nearly 500 hymns translated by Zeisberger into Delaware from the English and German. In 1847 an abbreviated edition of this Hymnal was edited by Abraham Luckenbach.[9]

3. Sermons to Children. Philadelphia, 1803, pp. 90, containing seventeen discourses in Delaware, addressed to children. The original manuscript is in the Bethlehem Archives.

4. The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. New York, 1821, pp. 222. This is a translation of Lieberkühn's Harmony of the Gospels. Zeisberger finished the translation in 1806. The original manuscript is in the Bethlehem Archives, and contains a very complete table of contents not given in the printed copy.

5. Verbal Biegungen der Delawaren. Leipzig, 1821. In Vater's

[9] Abraham Luckenbach was born in Lehigh County, Pa., May 5, 1777; at the age of twenty years he entered Nazareth Hall as a teacher; and in 1800 he accepted an appointment as missionary among the Indians, in which capacity he labored for forty-three years and then retired to Bethlehem, where he died March 8, 1854.

Analekten der Sprachkunde and contains a number of conjugations of Delaware verbs.[10]

The next three exist only in manuscript and are found in the library of the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia.[11]

6. Deutsch und Onondagaisches Wörterbuch. 7 Bände. This is probably his most important work, on which he was engaged for many years with the help of several sachems, and by which he tried to present the entire treasury of the Iroquois language.

7. Essay toward an Onondaga Grammar. An introduction to the Iroquois Grammar.

8. Onondagaische Grammatica, a complete grammar of the Onondaga language, translated into English by Duponceau, the translation also remaining in manuscript. A shorter work of the same character seems to be Zeisberger's first attempt.

The following works, all of which exist in manuscript only, are preserved in the library of Harvard University, at Cambridge:

9. A Dictionary in German and Delaware.
10. A Delaware Glossary.
11. A Delaware Vocabulary.
12. Phrases and Vocabularies in Delaware.
13. A Delaware Grammar.
14. The Litany and Liturgies in Delaware.
15. Delaware Sermons.
16. Short Biblical Narratives in Delaware.
17. Vocabulary in Maqua and Delaware.

In the Archives at Herrnhut are preserved two small books containing hymns and extracts from the Scriptures in Cherokee and printed in foreign and unintelligible letters. These publications probably have no connection with Zeisberger and the Moravian Indian Mission.[12]

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[10] Reichelt has omitted one of the printed works of Zeisberger, namely—*Spangenberg's Something of Bodily Care for Children,* translated into Delaware and bound up with the *Sermons to Children.*

[11] These manuscripts have been reclaimed from the American Philosophical Society by the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, to which they belong, and deposited in the Archives at Bethlehem.

[12] The author is correct in saying that the above works are not Moravian publications. The "foreign and unintelligible letters" of which he speaks are the letters of the syllabic alphabet invented by George Guess, a half-breed Cherokee.

From the above enumeration it is evident that as an author also the indefatigable Apostle of the Indians performed a gigantic work. We can only regret that it has not been of more practical use. This is owing to the fact that the Moravian Mission among the Indians had to contend with countless obstacles; that since the massacre of nearly one hundred converts at Gnadenhütten, in Ohio, it has been declining more and more; and that it may eventually die out altogether. Even philologists seem to have paid but little attention to Zeisberger's literary labors. In all probability they are not aware of the fact that there have existed, for nearly a century, treatises on the most important languages of the North American Indians, the majority of which works are preserved in duplicate manuscripts. Otherwise the editors of the *Bibliothèque Linguistique Américaine*, who, three years ago, published, without the knowledge of the Church, the Arrawak works of the Moravian Missionary Schuhmann and the still older treatises of the Jesuits on the South American Indian languages, would certainly have tried to secure the works of David Zeisberger also.[13]

Works treating of the Mission among the North American Indians.

1. *Loskiel's* Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nord Amerika. Barby, 1789. pp. 783.
2. *Loskiel's* History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians of North America. London, 1794. pp. 626.
3. *Heckewelder's* Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians. Philadelphia, 1820. pp. 429.
4. *Rondthaler's* Life of John Heckewelder. Philadelphia, 1847. pp. 149.
5. *David Zeisberger's* Diary, translated from the original German Manuscript and edited by Eugene F. Bliss. Cincinnati, 1885. Two Vols. pp. 464 and 535.
6. *De Schweinitz's* Life and Times of David Zeisberger. Philadelphia, 1870. pp. 747.
7. *Heim's* David Zeisberger, der Apostel der Indianer. Bielefeld, 1849. pp. 71.
8. *Vormbaum's* David Zeisberger, Missionar der Brüder-gemeine unter den Indianern. Bielefeld, 1853,
9. *Burkhardt's* Die Indianer in Nord und Süd Amerika. Bielefeld, 1858.

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[13] The author is mistaken in supposing that philologists know nothing of Zeisberger's literary labors. Dr. Daniel G. Brinton, of Philadelphia, Pa., the greatest American authority on the aboriginal languages of our country, and Prof. Edward B. Tylor, of the University of Oxford, on his recent visit to the United States, have both examined the manuscripts in the Bethlehem Archives; and the former has made use of them in his great work, "Aboriginal American Literature," the Fifth Number, "The Lenape and Their Legends"; moreover, at his instance, one of the manuscripts in the Library of Harvard University will soon be published. The Pennsylvania Historical Society is about publishing No. 7 of the above list.

10. History of the Moravian Mission among the Indians in North America. By a Member of the Brethren's Church. London, 1838. pp. 316.
11. Missions of the Moravians among the North American Indians. American Sunday School Union. Philadelphia, 1831. pp. 162.
12. Tschoop: the Converted Indian Chief. American Sunday School Union. Philadelphia. pp. 36.
13. *Fritschel's* Geschichte der Mission unter den Indianern Nord Amerika's Nüremberg, 1870.
14. Missions-Bilder. Zweite Auflage. Calw, 1877. Viertes Heft.
15. *Blumhardt's* Vie de D. Zeisberger, Missionaire de l'église des Frères de Morave. Neuchatel, 1844. pp. 184.

IV.—THE LITERATURE OF THE MISSION ON THE MOSQUITO COAST.

Moravian Mission Begun in 1849.

It is said that four hundred and twenty-two different dialects of Indian languages can be counted up in North and South America. One of these dialects is spoken by the aborigines of the Mosquito Coast, and has been carefully studied by the missionaries. As yet, however, they have had only two works printed, namely: the *Calwer Bible History*, translated by Grunewald and published at Stuttgart, and a *Reader*. Grunewald has also compiled a *Mosquito-Indian Dictionary* and a *Grammar*, both of which remain in manuscript. At the present time the missionaries are engaged in translating the Gospels. Blair has finished the *Gospel according to St. Matthew* and eleven chapters of *St. Mark;* Martin, the greater part of *St. Luke;* and Siebörger the *Passion Week Manual* as far as the high-priestly prayer. There have also been rendered: *The Church Liturgy, The Service for Easter Morning, The Service of Marriage, Questions for Baptism*, and various *Hymns*. All these works exist only in manuscript.[14]

V.—THE LITERATURE OF THE MISSION IN SOUTH AMERICA.

Moravian Mission Begun in 1738.

A.—*The Arrawak Indian.*

At Pilgerhut, in Berbice, the westernmost part of British Guiana, the missionaries had occasion to cultivate still another Indian language. It is spoken by the Arrawak Indians, and is exceedingly difficult. Through the aid of John Renatus, a mulatto boy who died at Hennersdorf in Saxony in 1751, they acquired a sufficient

[14] With the exception of Edward Grunewald, a deceased Superintendent, all the writers named above, namely, Christian Augustus Martin, the Superintendent; Peter Blair, and William Siebörger, are at present engaged in the service of the Mosquito Coast Mission.

knowledge of it to write a "Life of Jesus," which work they used on their missionary tours, until the arrival, in 1748, of Theophilus Solomon Schuhmann, a distinguished scholar and able linguist, who soon made himself thoroughly familiar with the Arrawak tongue.[15] Although his activity was cut short by death in 1759, he wrote a number of works, of which the most celebrated are his *Arrawak and German Dictionary*, and his *Grammar*. These works, which for many years existed only in worm-eaten manuscripts, were borrowed from the Herrnhut Library by a Leipzig philologist who had them copied. He loaned his copy to another scholar, who loaned it to a third, and so on, until it reached Paris, where it was printed in 1882. Not until three years later, in 1885, did the authorities of the Church, and therefore the owners of the original manuscripts, hear of their publication. However irregular this proceeding, the fact that they have found their way into print and been thus made accessible to philologists, can only be gratifying.

Next to Schuhmann, Theodore Shultz, who entered the service of the Mission in 1800, seems to have been the best Arrawak scholar. He revised and improved the Arrawak Dictionary, which revised work is found in manuscript in the Herrnhut Archives.[16]

Other Arrawak writings are: *A Harmony of the Gospels*, of 213 pages, printed probably in the last century; *A Collection of Hymns*, in manuscript; *The Church Litany;* parts of the *New Testament;* and *The Acts of the Apostles*, translated by Theodore Shultz, and published at New York in 1850.

Here may be mentioned an important work by Quandt, entitled: *Nachricht von Surinam und seinen Einwohnern, sonderlich den Ara-*

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[15] Theophilus Solomon Schuhmann was born July 1, 1719, near Magdeburg; a graduate of the University of Halle, where he subsequently taught in the Pædagogium; at a later time he taught at Kloster Bergen; in 1743 he joined. the Moravian Church and was sent to South America; he died at Pilgerhut, October 6, 1759, in his best years.

[16] Theodore Shultz was born at Gerdauen, East Prussia, on December 17, 1770. In 1799 he went to Surinam as a missionary, where he served for seven years and then came to the United States. In this country he had charge successsively of several country churches until 1821, when he was appointed Administrator of the Southern Church estates, which office he filled for twenty-three years, retiring in 1844. He died at Salem, N. C., August 4, 1850. In the Archives at Bethlehem there is a beautifully written manuscript containing his Arrawak translation of the "Harmony of the Gospels," begun in 1804 and finished in 1805, and copied by William Christian Genth, in 1818.

wacken und Caraïben, von den nützlichen Gewächsen und Thieren des Landes, den Geschäften der dortigen Missionarien der Brüder-Unität, und der Sprache der Arawacken. With a map and two illustrations, Görlitz, 1807, pp. 316. The part relating to the language is reprinted in *Reisen in British-Guyana*, 1840–1844, von Richard Schomburgk, Leipzig, 1847 and 1848. Band III.

In as much as the Mission among the Arrawaks came to an end in 1808, their language is no longer used by Moravian missionaries. Representatives of the tribe occasionally visit Paramaribo and other stations, but speak the Negro-English.

B.—*The Negro-English.*

The Negro-English can not claim the dignity of a language; it constitutes a mongrel dialect, and is the uncouth jargon in which the negroes of Surinam communicate with each other. Although it will probably, in time, give place to the Dutch—as it has, in the West Indies, given place to the English—it is still used almost everywhere throughout the Colony and hence a knowledge of it is indispensable to the missionaries.

Wullschlägel compiled and published a complete *German-Negro-English Dictionary* and a *Grammar*;[17] but a Negro-English-German Dictionary does not yet exist. This want is, in part, supplied by Focke's Negro-English-Dutch Lexicon.

Nearly all the books used in public worship and at school have been translated into this dialect and published, the most of them in Germany, a part of them at the Mission Printing Office, in Paramaribo. The most important are: A version of the entire *New Testament*, translated many years ago; parts of the *Old Testament;* a *Hymnal* of 296 pages, first edition, 1820, at Paramaribo; second, of 126 pages, 1841, at the same place; third, containing six hundred hymns, at Stolpen, in Saxony; and a *Tune Book* for the use of schools. The Mission press at Paramaribo issues a monthly periodical, called *Makzien vo Kristensoema*, and an annual *Almanac.*

[17] Henry Rudolph Wullschlägel was born at Sarepta, in Russia, February 1, 1805. He studied in the Theological Seminary at Gnadenfeld and, after serving the Church in Germany in various capacities, entered the service of the Missions in 1844. He labored in Antigua, Jamaica and Surinam. In 1855 he was elected to the Unity's Elders' Conference and in 1857 consecrated a Bishop; in the following year he paid an official visit to the churches of the American Province. He died March 29, 1864. In addition to the works mentioned above and to various missionary writings, he was the author of a number of religious tales.

Works relating to the Mission in South America.

1. Geschichte der Mission in Süd Amerika. In Erzählungen aus der Geschichte der Brüderkirche. Barby, 1805. pp. 221.
2. *Ledderhose's* Mission unter den freien Buschnegern in Surinam. Heidel berg, 1854. pp. 112.
3. *Vormbaum's* Theophilus Sol. Schuhmann, Missionar der Brüdergemeine unter den Indianern Süd Amerikas. Bielefeld, 1858.
4. Brief Narrative of the Life and Missionary Service of Theophilus Solomon Schuhmann. *Periodical Accounts*, Vol. IX. London, 1823. pp. 121–128.
5. Missions-Bilder. Sechstes Heft. Calw, 1868.

The rich literature of the English language has supplied the Mission in the West Indies with all the books that it needs; occasionally, however, works have been published specially for use in that field, for instance, a Catechism in 1884, which was printed at Herrnhut.

VI.—THE LITERATURE OF THE MISSION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A.—*The Cape Colony.*

Moravian Mission begun in 1738.

The founder of this enterprise was George Schmidt, who preached to the Hottentots in Baviansklooof—not in their own difficult language, but in Dutch, with which the natives were familiar.[18] In 1744 the undertaking was relinquished; in 1792 it was resuscitated. The Dutch language continued in use. Hence there was not the same call for original works as in other Missions. The Dutch Bible, Dutch school-books, and the Dutch Hymnal of the Moravian churches in Holland were introduced. The first Hymnal specially for the use of the converts was published by the Bible Society of Zeist in 1836, on the occasion of Bishop Hallbeck's visit to Europe.[19] A new edition appeared in 1856, with an Appendix containing a number of new hymns by Suhl, Kühn, and Hartmann.[20]

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[18] George Schmidt was born, September 30, 1709, at Kunewalde, in Moravia; for six years he suffered imprisonment in chains for the Gospel's sake; labored among the Hottentots from 1737 to 1744; and died at Niesky, August 1, 1785.

[19] Hans Peter Hallbeck was born, March 18, 1784, at Malmöe, Sweden, and was an alumnus of the University of Lund. In 1811 he joined the Moravian Church, taught in its German and English schools, and in 1817 was appointed Superintendent of the South African Mission, in which position he remained until his death. In 1836 he was consecrated a Bishop.

[20] Suhl and Hartmann were former missionaries in South Africa. Frederick William Kühn, now a Bishop, formerly the Superintendent of that Mission, is now President of the Mission Board at Herrnhut, Saxony.

Many of these hymns were translations. The latest edition, revised and greatly improved, came out in 1880. This edition is used in the Dutch services at Paramaribo also. A collection of Liturgies, published at Zeist in 1839, was probably compiled by Hallbeck.

In 1859 a printing office was established at Genadendal in connection with the Normal School. The first press was an old one sent from Zeist; a new and better one was subsequently presented by friends in England. From that office is issued a monthly newspaper called *De Bode van Genadendal*, of which the Director of the Normal School is the editor, and a monthly magazine for children, called *De Kinder-Vriend.*

In the same office have appeared the following works: *Envoudige Lessen ten gebruik van Klein Kinder Scholen*, being the second edition of a Bible History and Natural History in rhymes composed by Hallbeck, 1859; *Hymns on the last Words of Christ while hanging on the Cross, 1861; De Kleine Zangvriend*, a collection of Hymns for Children, 1861; the *Passion Week Manual, 1864; Instructions for the Candidates for Baptism and the Lord's Supper, 1864; Seed Corns out of the Word of God*, arranged according to the chief articles of Christian doctrine, 1864 — all these by Benno Marx;[21] *Kühn's Summary of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ*, in questions and answers, 1865, second edition, 1876; and *Bechler's Instructions in Bible History, 1865.*[22] Large editions of *Luther's Catechism* and an Appendix to the Collection of Liturgies, containing the *Order of Baptism*, of *Confirmation*, of *Reception, etc.*, have also appeared.

B.—*The Kaffre Mission.*

Moravian Mission Begun in 1818.

In this Mission the works published by other Churches laboring among the natives have been extensively used. The first Kaffre version of the Bible that circulated among the Moravian converts was that of the Wesleyans, which many consider artificial and anything but idiomatic; after a time it was superseded by the version of the Scottish missionaries, which is crude and even vulgar.

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[21] Benno Marx, for many years, was Director of the Normal School at Genadendal; now he is stationed at Wittewater, in the Western Mission Province.

[22] William Ferdinand Bechler formerly was the Superintendent of the South African Mission; now he is a member of the Mission Board at Berthelsdorf, in Saxony.

Among Moravian missionaries the most distinguished Kaffre scholar was Bonatz.[23] In 1847 he published, at Capetown, a *Bible History* noted for its idiomatic Kaffre; in 1856, at Bautzen, Saxony, a *Collection of Hymns*, and *The Church Litany;* and in 1862 in German his *Guide to Acquiring the Kaffre Language.* The principal part of this last-named work is a condensed translation of the Kaffre and English Grammar of Appleyard, the translator of the Wesleyan version of the Bible, but contains also other parts that are original.

The Genadendal press has furnished several works for the Kaffre Mission, namely—*Luther's Catechism*, translated by Kropf, of the Berlin Missionary Society — the first edition in 1856, the second in 1863—and the *Passion Week Manual* in 1861. The latter is not a new translation, but a compilation arranged by the Moravian missionaries from the Wesleyan version of the New Testament.

The first Collection of Hymns in use at the Moravian stations was the Hymnal of the Berlin Missionary Society, containing some contributions by Bonatz and other Moravian missionaries. In 1869 a number of their hymns appeared at Bautzen in the form of a small *Supplementary Collection*, comprising also six *Litanies* and *Liturgical Services;* and in 1885 an entirely new Hymnal, compiled by Richard Baur and Theodore Weiz, was published at Herrnhut.[24] In addition to the best production of the Berlin and English missionaries, it contains a large number of original hymns and translations by Moravian missionaries, as also all the Litanies, Liturgical Services and Formulas of the Church. The cost of both these publications was borne by the Mission Society at Zeist.

A complete *Kaffre-English-German Lexicon* by Richard Baur remains in manuscript. In Grey's Library of Capetown are deposited the following manuscripts: *A German-Kaffre Dictionary* by Christian Adolphus and Christian Theodore Küster, compiled in 1843 at Clarkson; *A Grammar of the Kaffre Language*, by Chris-

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[23] John Adolphus Bonatz, a deceased South African missionary, was for many years the Warden of the Mission at Shilo. He represented the South African Mission at the General Synod of 1857.

[24] Both these missionaries are still engaged in the service of the South African Mission, the latter being the Superintendent of the Eastern Province and stationed at Baziya in Kaffraria.

tian Adolphus Küster, written at Clarkson in 1857; and a small *Kaffre-German Vocabulary*, by the same.[25]

Works relating to the Mission in South Africa.

1. *La Trobe's* Journal of a Visit to South Africa in 1815 and 1816. London, 1818. pp. 406, with a map and colored plates. The same work without the plates. New York, 1818. pp. 395.
2. *Ledderhose's* Büchlein von den Hottentotten und ihrem ersten Apostel, Georg Schmidt. Basel, 1849. pp. 56.
3. *Vormbaum's* Georg Schmidt, Missionar unter den Hottentotten, und seine nächsten Nachfolger. Bielefeld, 1858.
4. *Henry Hutton's* Visit to Genadendal, South Africa. London, 1845.
5. *Hallbeck's* Narrative of a Visit made in 1848 to Enon, in South Africa. London, 1820.
6. The Leper Hospital in South Africa. Bristol.
7. Geschichte der Ausbreitung des Christenthums unter den Heidenvölkern Süd Afrikas. Berlin, 1831.
8. Geschichte der Brüder Missionsstation Silo in Süd Afrika, und zugleich der Anfang der Missionsthätigkeit der Brüdergemeine unter den Kaffern. Gnadau, 1878. pp. 150.

VII.—THE LITERATURE OF THE ASIATIC MISSIONS.

A.—*Abandoned Enterprises.*

In the last century a number of Moravian missionary enterprises were undertaken in Asia which, after a longer or shorter existence, came to an end, and have left no traces except the writings which they called forth and which for the most part remain in manuscript. The following are found in the Herrnhut Archives:

1. David Nitschmann's Grammar of the Cingalese Language, finished on the ninth of April, 1740, and constituting a manuscript of nearly 300 well-written quarto pages.[26]

2. A Persian-German Dictionary by G. Pilder, finished in 1771, a manuscript of about 700 quarto pages, with a German Index of 900 pages, added by a later hand and in a splendid chirography.[27]

3. Grammatical and Lexicographical Treatises on the Nicobarese

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[25] Christian Adolphus Küster, a deceased South African missionary, had charge at one time of the Leper Hospital on Robben Island.

[26] David Nitschmann, surnamed the Syndic, was born in Moravia; undertook many long and arduous missionary journeys—to Russia, Ceylon, Cape of Good Hope and North America. In 1746 he was consecrated to the episcopacy, and died at Zeist, in Holland, March 28, 1779.

[27] George Pilder was a student of theology who accompanied Hocker, in 1756, to Egypt, with the object of preaching the Gospel in Abyssinia. Hocker had been a missionary in Persia.

Language, among them ten vocabularies and an incomplete version of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. These manuscripts having been loaned to the Danish Consul F. A. de Rœpstorff, at Copenhagen, he published the most important parts of them under the following titles: *Vocabulary of Dialects spoken in the Nicobar and Andamen Isles.* Calcutta, 1875; and *A Dictionary of the Nancowry Dialect of the Nicobarese Language, in two Parts: Nicobar-English, and English-Nicobar.* Calcutta, 1884.

4. In Tranquebar the Moravian Mission existed for forty years, from 1763 to 1803, and has left as its memorial not, as might be expected, a work on the Tamil language, but *Bengalese Vocabularies, Grammar,* and *Translations.* Among these is a *Grammar by Lewis von Watteville,* comprising 200 pages, and a *Passion Week Manual.*[28]

5. The missionary enterprises undertaken at various times, in the last and present centuries (1768–1823) among the Calmucks, called forth three works. The first is *An Essay of a Calmuck-Mongolian Grammar, by Christian Frederick Gregor,*[29] written in the last century, a manuscript of over one hundred pages; the second, *A Calmuck Mongolian-German Dictionary by H. A. Zwick,* 400 quarto pages with a German-Calmuck Index of 81 pages, reproduced in fac-simile in 1852; the third, *A Grammar of the West Mongolian, or Calmuck Language, by H. A. Zwick,* a quarto of 174 pages with a splendid title, reproduced in fac-simile in 1852.

B.—*Existing Enterprises.*

In 1850 a Mission in Chinese Mongolia was resolved on; five years later, in 1855, an unsuccessful attempt was made to establish the enterprise. The missionaries were not permitted to cross the Chinese frontier. Hence they inaugurated a work in Thibet among the Western Himalayas and began to study the Thibetan language. It had been cultivated, to some extent, both grammatically and

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[28] John Lewis von Watteville was the son of Baron John von Watteville and the Countess Benigna, by birth a Countess von Zinzendorf; consequently a grandson of Zinzendorf. He was born March 7, 1752, at Herrnhut, and died while engaged in missionary service in Tranquebar, July 23, 1784.

[29] Christian Frederick Gregor was born in Silesia, January 1, 1723; he was a member of the Governing Board of the Unitas Fratrum from 1764 to his death, November 6, 1801, at Berthelsdorf, Saxony. In 1789 he was consecrated a Bishop. He undertook many journeys; one to North America.

lexicogigraphically, and there existed a Dictionary and a Grammar by Schmidt and Foucaux; one of the Moravian missionaries, however, Henry Augustus Jæschke, a linguist of the most distinguished ability, far outstripped his predecessors.[30] The following is a summary of his works:

1. *Ten Treatises and Essays on the Thibetan Language*, published in scientific journals of Berlin, St. Petersburg and Calcutta.

2. *A Thibetan-English Grammar*, first edition lithographed at Kyelang, in Thibet; second edition printed at Berlin, at the cost of the East Indian Government.

3. *A Concise Thibetan-English Dictionary*, lithographed at Kyelang.

4. *A Hindu-Urdu-Thibetan Grammar*, lithographed at Kyelang.

5. *A Complete Thibetan-German Dictionary*, lithographed at Herrnhut and Magdeburg, in 1868.

6. *The English Translation of the Thibetan-German Dictionary*, printed at the expense of the East Indian Government with new and very clear type, at Berlin, in 1881.

In his Grammar Jæschke, following the example of Kleinschmidt in Greenland, struck out into a new path, forsaking the Latin model and endeavoring to construct the language in as simple a manner as possible out of its own materials.

A number of other works from Jæschke's pen, for missionary and school purposes, were lithographed on the Kyelang press. These are the following:

1. *A Harmony of the Gospels.*
2. *The Church Litany and Liturgical Services.*
3. *The Catechism.*
4. *A Bible History.*
5. *A Larger and a Smaller Hymnal.*
6. *A Church History.*
7. *Two Geographies, one illustrated with maps.*
8. *Several Readers.*
9. *A Children's Bible.*

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[30] Henry Augustus Jæschke was born at Herrnhut, in Saxony, May 17, 1817, and was a lineal descendant of a family belonging to the Ancient Unitas Fratrum. He was a graduate of the Seminary at Gnadenfeld. In 1856 he was called to the Mission in Thibet. He returned to Germany on account of failing health, in 1868, and died at Herrnhut, September 24, 1883.

By far the most important of all his works, however, was his version of the *New Testament.* With the exception of the Revelation of St. John and the Epistle to the Hebrews, which were rendered into Thibetan by his successor, Frederick Adolphus Redslob,[31] he lived to complete this great work. It was published at Berlin in 1884, by the British and Foreign Bible Society. About one-third of the Old Testament has been translated by Redslob, and Genesis and Exodus have been lithographed at Kyelang.

While this rich Thibetan literature appears to be out of proportion to the small number of converts who have as yet been won for Christ, it is by no means useless. On the contrary, it forms one of the chief means by which the Gospel is brought to the heathen Thibetans, the great majority of whom are able to read.

We have reached the end of our review.[32] The most of the works which we have adduced were written for missionary purposes, and have undoubtedly, through the grace of God, been of incalculable blessing to thousands of converts reclaimed from the heathen world; the rest are devoted to linguistical researches and are of great value to the philologist, but even these have indirectly rendered the Missions no little service and were written solely with this object in view.

In conclusion, looking upon the literary labors of the Moravian missionaries during the century and a half in which the Church has carried on the work of converting the heathen, we can not but give thanks and all the praise to the Lord. That His servants, who went forth in His name, were endowed with courage to undertake and strength to complete the translation of His Word in so many forms and in so many tongues, and to present that Holy Word to them that were afar off—"this is the Lord's doing; it is marvelous in our eyes."

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[31] Redslob is still actively engaged as the leading missionary in Thibet.

[32] In the Mission in Australia the English language is used. There is no native missionary literature.

SKETCH

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE MORAVIAN CONGREGATION,

AT

GNADENHÜTTEN ON THE MAHONING.

BY

ROBERT RAU.

SKETCH

OF THE

History of the Moravian Congregation

AT

GNADENHÜTTEN ON THE MAHONING.

BY ROBERT RAU.

Bordering on the southern edge of the prolific anthracite coal fields of Pennsylvania—flanked on either side by ranges of the Kittatinning Mountains, fragrant with balsamic spruce and pine—stretching from the Lehigh river a dozen miles southwestwardly into Schuylkill County—thus may be verbally mapped the boundaries of the Mahoning Valley, within whose confines the early Moravian ambassadors of a crucified Redeemer strove, amidst discouragements, persecutions, and martyrdom, to bring into and retain within the fold of the Good Shepherd, him of whom the poet still sings as the noble red man of the forest, but whose national characteristics, when divested of the glamour of romance, were naught but treachery and cruelty.

Such, forsooth, were the traits of those debauched Mohicans, whom that pioneer of Moravian missionaries in North America, Christian Henry Rauch, met in the town of New York, in 1740, and followed to their dwelling places in Shecomeco, and with whom, in fearless reliance upon the protecting arm of his heavenly Master, he abode, losing no opportunity, during the lucid intervals between their oft recurrent periods of intoxication, to present the love of a dying Saviour to their hearts, and to urge them to a different course of life.

Of the success which crowned the labors of Rauch and of those who assisted him and followed him into this region of missionary work, it is not our purpose to speak at length, nor to particularize

the series of persecutions to which these Moravian teachers and their converts at Shecomeco and Pachgatgoch were subjected.

No choice at last remained but removal; and Bethlehem, the youthful, albeit staid, settlement, offered a sheltering site to the Christian refugees from the Provinces of New York and Connecticut.

Here, on the sloping banks of the Manakes, were pitched the tents of peace, "Friedenshütten," and here Mohican and Wampanoag alike were ministered unto, both temporally and spiritually, by the brethren of Bethlehem.

Here, moreover, as many a rudely lettered tablet of stone on the old burying-ground attests, a great number found their earthly resting-place—victims of that dreaded disease so generally fatal to the Indian, small-pox, which was epidemic in the Summer of 1746, barely four months after the hegira from Shecomeco.

Friedenshütten was, however, regarded but as a temporary asylum, for in May of 1746 a party of eleven Indians went across the Blue Mountains to the banks of the Mahoning, there to plant, and to prepare for a more general coming of their brethren; here the Moravians had purchased, under various indentures, several hundred acres of land, stretching for some distance along each side of the Mahoning westwardly from its junction with the Lehigh River.

This spot, beyond the outposts of the white settlements of eastern Pennsylvania, and, by its situation, a gateway in the main road of communication between the white settlers and the undefined Indian regions of Nescopec, Wamphallobank, and Onondaga, had been chosen as a site for a place of refuge—a veritable Zoar in the wilderness—for the exiles from Shecomeco, and served as such to the homeless Delawares who in 1751 were forced to leave their village of Meniolagomeka on the northern side of the Blue Mountain, near what is now known as Smith's Gap.

In 1747 a saw and grist-mill was erected on the Mahoning by the brethren of Bethlehem under the superintendence of Henry Antes, and the first grain was ground in July of the same year. A second and commodious chapel was built in 1749.

Thus was begun this asylum for the converted Indian,—"Gnadenhütten," the "abodes of grace,"—set, moreover, as a beacon light upon the hill, to guide the roving savage to the

spot where the word of life was spoken by the missionary as well as by the Indian convert; and many a dusky heathen here professed his faith in the Saviour and received the ordinance of baptism.

In 1754 the Indians removed their dwellings to the east side of the Lehigh.

Here, on a tract lately purchased by the brethren of Bethlehem (the site of Weissport of the present day), the rich bottom-lands offered better inducements to the tiller of the soil.

To sketch the various vicissitudes which befell the promising Indian congregation gradually gathered here, is not our purpose. During the French and Indian war this flock and its teachers fared severely at the hands of both whites and Indians; the former acknowledged no distinction between the savage in his wild state and the peaceable Moravian Indian, and suspected the pastors and teachers of sympathizing with the French cause, while the latter who, time and again, before the outbreak of hostilities, attempted to draw away the converts from their peaceful abodes on the Lehigh to the Wyoming Valley, proved a treacherous foe, alike to the Christianized Indians and to their teachers.

On the memorable night of the 24th of November, 1755, fell the blow that forever put an end to the Indian settlement of Gnadenhütten.

Of the sixteen teachers and laborers—men, women and children—who occupied the "Gemeinhaus," into which the former chapel had been converted, ten fell by the bullet or tomahawk of the savage, or found a more horrible death in the flames of the burning building, and one was led into captivity and died after suffering untold hardships and cruelties.

The affrighted Indians in New Gnadenhütten, upon the first news of the massacre, scattered, and concealed themselves in the dense forests of the Pine Swamp, and all found a resting place, temporary though it proved to be, at Nain, the newly founded Indian village, two miles northwest of Bethlehem.

This appalling dispensation was the turning point of public opinion with regard to the Moravians.

On the one hand, the exasperated and lawless militia from the Jerseys, who had appeared over against Bethlehem but a few days before this night of horror, with the avowed intention of destroy-

ing the place, and dispatching the "traitorous" inhabitants; — on the other hand, the suspicious Ulster-Scots of the Irish Settlement, who had forcibly delayed David Zeisberger on this very 24th of November, while he was carrying a message of advice to the laborers among the Indian flock at New Gnadenhütten; — both parties acknowledged the unjust accusations which had been urged against the Moravians of being sympathizers with the French.

A short time afterwards, a small party of Colonial troops was sent to New Gnadenhütten to guard the deserted buildings; but on New Year's Day following, while enjoying the sport of sliding on the ice, these defenders were enticed away by a wily savage, who, in childlike innocence, was similarly engaged farther up the river, fell into an ambuscade, and were slaughtered. The houses of New Gnadenhütten as well as the Old Gnadenhütten mill, which still remained on the opposite side of the Lehigh, near the mouth of the Mahoning, were burned to the ground.

In accordance with the urgent request of Spangenberg, the Colonial government sent a larger body of troops, under the command of that versatile genius, statesman, philosopher and soldier — Benjamin Franklin—to the scene of destruction, where a stronghold of palisades, consisting of pine-tree trunks a foot thick and 18 feet high, was hastily built, named Fort Allen, and embellished with a small cannon, calculated possibly to strike terror into the heart of any savage who might venture near this solitary outpost of civilization.

It is to be presumed that this garrison led a quiet and uneventful life, until the final corporal's guard was paid off and discharged, in January, 1761.

Fort Allen, albeit a deserted spot, impressed its name upon the place, and New Gnadenhütten, the home where had dwelt the Christian Mohican and Delaware, side by side, was a thing of the past—the very name has been forgotten and is unknown to the present generation—and for fifteen years the lands of the Brethren on the Mahoning, lay desolate.

In the northern bounds of Lehigh County, skirting the Blue Ridge, lies the Township of Lynn, erected as such in 1753, from the undefined region known as Allemængel, "utter want." Here the Brethren maintained, with more or less regularity, a preaching place from 1742 until 1751; in the latter year, a house of worship

and a parsonage were erected, and in the Fall a congregation was organized.

In the year 1754, when John H. Mœller and his wife Rosina had charge of this flock, some of the principal members were John George Bibighaus, Gottlieb Demuth, Henry Haller, John Holder, Sr., John Holder, Jr., Adam Luckenbach,[1] his wife Eva and his son John Ludwig, and George, Charles, and Andrew Volck. In 1766, when John Neisser and Rosina his wife were stationed here, the total membership reached 66.

After this year, a spirit of unrest came over this rural charge, and its membership decreased by removals to Lebanon, Warwick, and Macungie; in April, 1769, Bishop Ettwein, while on a visitation in Lynn, made favorable offers to the Brethren towards beginning a settlement on the Gnadenhütten lands, which lay fifteen miles to the northeast of them, on the other side of the Blue Mountains; his proposals met with favor, and, already during the following month, John Everit with his family moved thither and made his abode temporarily in the deserted barracks of Fort Allen. Everit was soon followed by John Holder and family, and the widower George Bibighaus and his daughter. Joseph Neisser frequently visited them and held services of worship at their homes, on which occasions neighboring families from farther up the Mahoning Valley, as also from Lizard Creek, four miles away, were wont to attend. As an outcome of these visits, doubtless, a memorial, dated September, 1770, and addressed to Bishop Nathanael Seidel, was sent to Bethlehem with the desire that the Rev. Joseph Neisser

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[1] Adam Luckenbach, born February 28, 1713, in Winkelbach (*Grafschaft* Hackenburg), married Eva Maria Spiess, May 13, 1784. Their son John Ludwig was born in Germany, shortly before their emigration to America. Adam visited Bethlehem for the first time, December 22, 1742; he was then engaged in teaching school at Goshehoppen. He subsequently lived near Lancaster, in Lynn township, in Macungie, and finally with his son, John Ludwig, on the south side of the Lehigh, opposite Bethlehem.

Here he again sought the acquaintance of the Moravians, and partook of the means of grace afforded by the Church, and he was visited by the Brethren in his last illness. He died October 16, 1785, and by his special request, although no communicant member, was interred in the Bethlehem cemetery. His surviving children were John Ludwig, (born at Winkelbach, January 27, 1738, died at Hope, N. J., March 1, 1795), Anna Catharine, (born December 19, 1743, baptized by Lischy "under an oak tree"), and Elizabeth, (born December 1, 1749, baptized by Cammerhoff in the same year; married J. Rauschenberger).

or some other of the congregation be allowed to come and settle on the north side of the mountains among the subscribers.[2]

New purchasers of land now appeared upon the scene. In Duchess County, in the Colony of New York, near the border line of Connecticut, there still existed the Sichem Moravian Congregation, at this period of time in the charge of Francis and Anna Catharine Böhler, and, according to a catalogue of the year 1769, the membership consisted for the greater part of the two large families Warner and Edmonds,[3] living on rented farms; on the expiration of their leases, their attention was attracted by the favorable offers of land on the Mahoning, and, after a tour of inspection made in July, 1770, Daniel Warner, his wife and six children moved to Gnadenhütten and took up temporary quarters in the old fort. In February, 1771, they were followed by his son Nathan, wife and three children, and in October of the same year by Edmund Edmonds, wife and seven children. Henry Davis and William Knickerbocker, of the Sichem congregation, also expressed their intention of removing to the Mahoning, and Francis Böhler was recalled to Bethlehem in October of the same year.

This was the final act of the cessation of Moravian work upon or near the site of the early missionary labors of Rauch, Mack, Senseman, Bruce, Büttner and Powell.

Meanwhile Joseph Neisser[4] had been asked to take charge of the

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[2] The names affixed to this petition are: Wm. Thomas, Josiah Thomas, Samuel Custard, John Custard, John Rhoads.

[3] Daniel Warner, born July 22, 1714.

Bethia	"	"	March 22, 1720.
Daniel	" jr.,	"	August 20, 1740.
Jonathan	"	"	September 5, 1742.
Nathan	"	"	January 17, 1744.
Sarah	"	"	June 17, 1748.
Mary	"	"	——— ———
Massa	"	"	January 1, 1754.
Samuel	"	"	January 1, 1757.
John	"	"	August 5, 1759.
Ezra	"	"	September 2, 1762.
Nathan	"	"	October 31, 1765.
Peter	"	"	July 26, 1767.
Ebenezer	"	"	September 2, 1769.
Elizabeth	"	"	March 11, 1769.

Edmund Edmonds, born March 14, 1721.

Elizabeth	"	"	Jan. 21, 1722.
Oliver	"	"	June 21, 1752.
Rosina	"	"	Dec. 12, 1746.
Catharine	"	"	Sept. 4, 1748.
Thankful	"	"	June 8, 1750.
Peter	"	"	July 27, 1760.
Martha	"	"	Sept. 22, 1756.
Mary	"	"	July 8, 1758.
Rebecca	"	"	Aug. 9, 1762.

[4] Joseph Neisser was born February 28, 1722, in Sehlen, Moravia. At the age of two months he was brought to Herrnhut by his parents. Here he learned

new "plan" on the Mahoning, and on December 9 he preached his farewell sermon to the small remnant at Lynn. The school-house and chapel at this place was sold to the Lutherans, and the purchase money was set apart to defray the cost of a meeting-house and parsonage to be built at Gnadenhütten.

Neissers remained with their charge until May, 1771, and Edward Thorpe became the pastor in December of this year, by which time a saw and grist-mill had been completed, and the membership of the congregation numbered forty souls.

The brethren from Sichem understanding no German, and those from Lynn being conversant with both English and German, the services were conducted in English.

The two Warner families, having completed their dwellings in Gnadenhütten, left Fort Allen in January, 1772, and occupied their new homes, leaving the Edmonds holding the fort alone until October following, when these also moved over the river.

Henry Davis and his family left Sichem, and, after a fifteen days' journey, reached this place on December 28, and made their abode in the barracks.

In February of 1773 plans were made for the erection of a chapel and parsonage, which was completed in the Fall of 1774. It was a one-story log building, 30x46, facing south towards the Mahoning; a narrow hallway traversed the house, opening on the left into the chapel, and on the right into the minister's dwelling rooms.

The dedication took place September 17, 1774, and the first service was held by Thorpe and Bishop John Ettwein. The rite of baptism was administered on the following day to Sarah Davis (wife of Henry Davis) and to Sarah Elizabeth, their daughter, aged twenty years.

On the same day, and in the new chapel also, was performed the marriage ceremony of the single brother Jonathan Warner with the single sister Sarah Everit.

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the cutler's trade; in 1745 married Anna Rosina Hauff (born October 6, 1723, in Burkau, Upper Lusatia); they emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1765. They served at the following stations: Lynn, Gnadenhütten, Graceham, and Hope, N. J.; after 1784 lived in retirement at Bethlehem, where he died, June 25, 1793. His widow departed this life February 20, 1797; of six children but one (a daughter living at Sarepta in Russia) survived her parents.

The congregation together with the so-called "Society members" at this time numbered sixty.

In 1775 Thorpe was succeeded by Francis Böhler, and in June of 1777 the latter took charge of the Emmaus congregation, and Thorpe was re-established at Gnadenhütten.

The turbulent times of the War of Independence had now come, and this little flock was hardly beset during the several years following.

Thorpe writes under date of September 6, 1777:—

"During the past month we were subjected to repeated threats and accusations of being Tories—under the protection of Lord Howe—and of furnishing aid and succor to the Tories and Indians. Col. Siegfried with thirty armed men came upon us to-day, examined us closely, but found nothing against us, and laid the blame of the suspicions resting on us upon some of our evil-disposed neighbors. They took Bro. Knickerbocker along with them, however, because he was rather too outspoken in his views, and released him only after he had consented to take the 'test oath.'

September 24.—A militia captain came to-day and called for Bro. Wm. Carney (our blacksmith). The latter had left the village, and the officer gave notice that, in default of his reporting within three days, he would be liable to a fine of £50; his smithy tools and appliances were seized and held as security. Bro. Warner's oxen and horse were taken to Allentown, where, to redeem them, he had to pay his son John's fine of £50.

November 13.—20,000 feet of boards (some of them had been sold to Bethlehem) are seized and taken to Allentown as war-tribute.

December 12.—The married Brethren Nathan and Daniel Warner, both heads of large families, were forcibly taken to Allentown, and, being unwilling to serve in the militia for two months, and unable to pay £108 ransom, they were forced to cut fifty cords of wood each, in the neighborhood of Allentown, for the use of the soldiery."

Their laborious task was duly completed, and they returned to their homes in February of the following year, with a promise of 4*d.* per cord as payment for their services. Two deaths occurred during this year, viz.: John Everit,[5] (the first settler in the village), and Barbara Holder.[6]

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[5] John Everit was born January 25, 1717, on Long Island, N. Y.; moved with his parents to Lynn Township, where in 1742 he married Mary Holder; he was for some years Justice of the Peace, and united with the Moravians in 1760.

[6] Barbara Holder, daughter of Andrew, Sr., and Catharine Volck, was born April 17, 1703, in Durmstein, near Worms in Germany, came to America with her parents in 1709, and settled near Newburgh, N. Y.; married to John Holder, Sr., (from London, Eng.) in 1722, and removed to Lynn Township about 1735; a family of twelve children survived her.

During the first half of the year 1778 this little flock was sore beset by the Continental militia, until July, when the greater part of the members took the oath of fealty.

The Indian incursions into the Wyoming Valley, and the subsequent terrible massacre near Wilkes-Barre were followed by an influx of refugees into Gnadenhütten; as many as seventy-five came in on July 7, where they were fed and sheltered for several days.

During this year Bro. Thorpe opened a school, which was patronized by members of the congregation, as well as by neighbors living along the Mahoning and Lizard Creeks, among whom were Samuel Dodson and Joseph Rhoads, both of whom, as well as several members of their families, were in the course of time received into the Church.

In July, 1779, Francis Böhler succeeded Edward Thorpe,[7] who was becoming too feeble to attend to the multitudinous duties of farm, school, and pastoral work.

The year 1780 was very unquiet on account of Indian incursions into this neighborhood. The diarist says, under date of April 25: —

"Early this morning our neighbor Gilbert's[8] house, barn, and mill were burnt to the ground, and the entire family taken captive by Indians. Abigail Dodson,[9] aged thirteen, a member of our Society,

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[7] Edward Thorpe, born in Yorkshire, England, June 25, 1721; learned shoemaking with his father; in 1752 entered the Single Brethren's House at Fulneck; in 1754 came to Bethlehem, where he worked at his trade for some time and later was teacher in the Boys' School here and at Nazareth. In 1763 he married the widow Grace Ockertshaus (m. n. Brooke), with whom he had a daughter, Sarah (md. John Christopher Pyrlaeus). In this year he was ordained Deacon; served at Sichem, at Pachgatgoch (the last minister there), and as assistant in Philadelphia; then went to Gnadenhütten, later to Bethlehem, where he worked on the cobbler's bench, and in 1781 to Staten Island, where he remained two and a half years, when he returned to Bethlehem, and died July 31, 1797.

[8] Benjamin Gilbert, a Quaker from Philadelphia County, moved to the Mahoning, four miles from Gnadenhütten, in 1775, where he built a saw and grist-mill. His household of twelve souls was carried off by Indians on this occasion and taken to Canada. Some were adopted by Indians, and others were hired out into the service of white families. Benjamin, a sire of seventy years, broken in body and mind, died, and his remains repose at the foot of an oak tree near the St. Lawrence below Ogdensburg. After a captivity of two and a half years, the survivors were redeemed, and were reunited at Montreal.

[9] Abigail Dodson was taken captive with the members of the Gilbert family, April 25, 1780, and, together with them, was led by severe and toilsome marches, over mountains and through swamps towards Canada. Upon entering an Indian

has been carried off also. We receive instructions from Bethlehem to send our women and children thither and to Nazareth. When, however, the transport wagons from Christiansbrunn and Gnadenthal arrive, all the men with the exception of four, including Böhler, resolve to leave also, so great was the consternation! The refugees returned on the 22d of May following. A guard of armed militia (Lynnites, Heidelbergers and Weissenburgers,) remained with us for over six months.

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village, the prisoners were forced to undergo the terrible ordeal of a public reception and welcome, which was accorded them by the resident savages, and in which even women and children took part; the Indians, armed with sticks and stones, would beat the prisoners unmercifully, as these were led through the village by their captors; Abigail, however, by remaining in the midst of the warriors, met with somewhat less severe injuries. On reaching the Canadian borders, the prisoners were separated, and Abigail was allotted to a cruel savage, at whose hands she suffered very inhuman treatment for a year, her life being frequently in danger, especially when he was intoxicated. She was stricken with a fever, and for four months during her illness was not allowed to enter the wigwam, but was forced to make for herself a shelter of hemlock boughs, and subsist on corn-meal and water; during these hardships she contracted a hip-disease, which rendered her lame for life.

For a consideration of $50 she was sold to a Cayuga Chief, at whose hands she met with kind treatment and protection. He supplied her with fine clothing, bedecked with silver ornaments—gifts which the Chief was wont to receive from the English traders at Fort Niagara, to whom his friendship and good-will were invaluable. Her duties were the supervision of his cattle, of which he had a great number. In the Spring of 1785, she was given her freedom, and found a shelter near Detroit, with a white man whose wife was an Indian. From this place a letter was written to her parents advising them of her whereabouts, which reached them in August. Thomas Dodson, a near relative, was at once dispatched to Detroit, a free pass having been given him by the President in Philadelphia. In the mean time the Cayuga chief had returned, had reclaimed her, and taken her two hundred miles farther into the wilderness, rendering her recovery almost hopeless. Thomas Dodson, however, pursued his search with unswerving diligence, and, in a few weeks, discovered her abiding place.

The Chief had now gone to England on a visit, and before her final release was effected, her kinsman was forced, in default of a ransom price of $50, to give up his horse and trappings. Their homeward journey was full of vicissitudes and dangers; on one occasion, when on the verge of starvation, while traversing a river in a canoe, a storm arose and many large fish leaped forth from the water, enabling them to secure enough to supply their pressing wants. On reaching the Tioga River, being without means of transport, and at a loss how to continue the journey though the trackless wilds, a tenantless canoe, loaded with corn, came down the stream within securing distance from where they stood. In this boat they made their way to Wyoming, from whence they traveled a foot and reached their home in Gnadenhütten, to the indescribable joy of her parents.

December 7.—The captain of the militia informs me that this day has been appointed for humiliation and supplication, and I hastily summoned the people to worship; later in the day we learn that it should have been a service of thanksgiving."

The principal events chronicled during the remainder of Francis Böhler's ministerial term were the admission of Paul Greer[10] and his wife into the Society, and the death (March, 1784) of the oldest member of the congregation, John Holder,[11] aged 92 years.

On April 20, Easter-day of 1783, the Litany was prayed on the cemetery for the first time since the rebuilding of Gnadenhütten. How peculiarly impressive must have been the prayer for "everlasting fellowship with those of our brethren and sisters who have entered into the joy of their Lord," as offered on this bright Easter morn, on the very spot where were reposing the remains of those martyrs, who, in the cause of Christ, "through fiery trials trod!"

In August, 1784, Francis Böhler[12] was transferred to Old Man's Creek, N. J., and John Frederick Möhring was introduced as pastor in Gnadenhütten.

In the Fall of this year, Mr. Jacob Weiss, of Philadelphia, purchased 700 acres of land from the Moravians, on the east side of the Lehigh, including the site of New Gnadenhütten and Fort Allen, and, having built a homestead and saw-mill, he brought hither his wife Elizabeth, (m. n. Robinson) and two children, Rebecca and

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[10] Paul Greer, from the Isle of Man, shoemaker; came to America with the British troops; lived on Gilbert's place until its destruction; then moved to Everit's at the mill on the Mahoning. His wife, Hannah, was from Philadelphia County.

[11] John Holder, born at Tower Hill, London, Eng., in 1692; his parents were Episcopalians; after his father's death, his mother came with her son to America and took up land in the Highlands, on the Hudson River, under Queen Anne's grant. John married Barbara Volck, and moved to Maxatawny and later to Lynn; visited Bethlehem in 1748, and was received into communion there.

[12] Francis Böhler was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, September 1, 1722. His parents were Conrad and Antoinette Elizabeth Böhler, (m. n. Hauf). His brother was the eloquent and fervent laborer in the Moravian Church, Peter Böhler, who was his senior by ten years. He was married at Herrnhaag, May 11, 1746, to Anna Catharine Jag, who died at Old Man's Creek, N. J., November 8, 1784.

Their two children died in infancy (Petrus in London, Eng., 1754, and John in Bethlehem, 1756).

His second wife, Anna (late Unger, m. n. Rose), was the daughter of Peter and Catharine Rose (m. n. Budmanski), who after Rose's death married John Michael Huber.

Jacob, from Nazareth, where they had been residing for the past year or two.

They had occupied their new home barely a year, before a disastrous flood swept over the lowlands, the Lehigh rising to the unprecedented height of twenty-six feet above low water mark; a family by the name of Tippey was carried a short distance down the Lehigh, where the house fell to pieces; the parents escaped drowning by seizing on the overhanging limbs of a tree, whence they were rescued by a hardy neighbor; their two children, however, perished. This freshet was, for years, remembered as "Tippey's flood."

In March, 1787, Möhrings[13] were succeeded by George and Sarah Schmidt,[14] who remained in this charge for over nine years.

The marble tablet, which marks the spot where lie interred the remains of the martyrs of the massacre of 1755, was procured and set December 10, 1788.[15]

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[13] John Frederic Möhring was born October 24, 1737, at Hirschberg, *im Voigtland.* He was educated in the Moravian school at Ebersdorf; in 1752 went to Herrnhut to learn purse-making; was employed as *Chor-pfleger* in Fulneck, Eng., in Gracehill, Ireland, and in Bedford, Eng., where he was ordained Deacon in 1777. In 1783 he came to Bethlehem, and in the following year married Maria Salome Neisser; they were at various times stationed at Gnadenhütten, Staten Island and Old Man's Creek, N. J.; here his wife died, June 28, 1793. On October 1, 1795, he married the single sister Christine Elizabeth Beckel, and returned to his late post in New Jersey. They took charge of the congregation on Staten Island in 1797, and in 1803 were called to Schœneck, where they remained but a few weeks; on account of his rapidly growing infirmities, they returned to Bethlehem, where he departed this life on April 11, 1804.

[14] George Schmidt was born November 17, 1719, at Markstadt, Franconia, in the Margravate of Anspach; united with the Moravians in 1742; was ordained Deacon at Herrnhut, February 15, 1761; served for some years in Ireland, where he married Sarah Martin, November 20, 1769. They had one child, who died in infancy. They came to America in 1787, and at once accepted the post at Gnadenhütten. He retired from active service in 1796, and removed to Bethlehem; thence to Nazareth, where he died, June 4, 1803.

[15] This memorial stone, which has since been supplemented by a monument—erected August 7, 1848, just a century, to the day, since the first burial was made on this consecrated Acre of God, (that of the Indian child Christine, interred August 7, 1748), by descendants of Martin Nitschmann, whose martyrdom is thereon recited—is the cynosure of the visitor to these historic grounds. It is, moreover, the only relic dating from the last century, which carries us back to the days when the Moravian Gnadenhütten here existed. It was mainly through the exertions of the late Joseph Leibert, of revered and honored memory, (who departed August 24, 1858), whose wife, Rebecca, was the grand-daughter of Martin and

At the pressing invitation of settlers in Huntingdon, Shickshinny, and the neighboring regions in the Wyoming Valley, Bro. Schmidt made a tour into this part of the State, and preached at the homes of various families, meeting with the kindest reception wherever he spoke. These settlers were principally Baptists, Presbyterians, and Universalists, and at such gatherings had a fondness for engaging in warm disputes on doctrinal points. In the year 1796 the widowed Sister Elizabeth Dodson, together with the younger members of her family, moved into this neighborhood from the Mahoning.

In 1788 the membership of the Gnadenhütten congregation numbered 85; after this time there was a gradual falling off.

The necrological register during the term of Schmidt's incumbency included several of the older members of the Church, viz.: Daniel Warner,[16] his wife Bethia, Phœbe Edmonds,[17] and John George Bibighaus.[18]

In 1794 the diarist, for the first time, makes mention of the coal mines above Gnadenhütten. A coal company had been organized, and a tract of land skirting the Lehigh River was, in this year, purchased of John Edmonds, for the purpose of laying out a town.

It is hardly to be supposed that, at this early day, any, even the most sanguine, dreamed of the possible extent and proportions to which the traffic in this unpromising black stone was destined to grow, and what multitudes of mighty industries should in later years be the outcome of its discovery.

In August, 1796, Samuel Towle succeeded Schmidt in the pastorate of this church, and labored here until June, 1800. In 1799 several families, (Paul Greer, Ezra Warner, Jonathan Warner, Mary Everit, Asa Walton and Nathan Warner, Jr.), twenty-two

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Susanna Nitschmann, that this hallowed spot, imbedded in briers and thorns, was rescued from oblivion.

[16] Daniel Warner, Sr., born July, 1714, at Lebanon, Conn. Bethia Warner, born March, 1720, at Windham, Conn., was married to D. Warner, 1739.

[17] Phœbe Edmonds (m. n. Davis) born at Sichem. September, 1756; came to Gnadenhütten with her parents, Henry and Sarah Davis; was baptized here in 1776, and married to Peter Edmonds in 1786.

[18] John George Bibighaus, (wheelwright); born September 3, 1708, in Wittgenstein, of Reformed parents; emigrated to America with his first wife, Christine (m. n. Gerhard), who died in 1737; united with the Moravians at Muddy Creek in 1743; took his second wife. Ann Margareth (m. n. Hunsecker), in 1740; removed to Lynn in 1750; his wife died October, 1759.

members in all, moved to Ohio, where they had purchased lands on the Tuscarawas, from the Society of the United Brethren for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, leaving, at the close of the year, a membership at Gnadenhütten of but forty-eight souls; and, in April, 1800, they were followed by Peter Edmonds and Peter Warner with their families, a total of twelve.

In June, 1800, Nils Tillofson and his wife Hannah were installed as the laborers, while Towles[19] were sent to Old Man's Creek, N. J.

During the past few years quite a large influx of strangers had occurred; many of the new neighbors, who were mostly of German descent, attended the services, which were now occasionally held in German, but very few new names were entered upon the Church catalogue.

Tillofsons left their charge in May, 1803, and were succeeded, in August, by John Christian Fritz, who, in his first report to the Conference, exclaims:—"This is the most miserable place to which the Lord has, as yet, sent us; the fences are down, and the corn and potatoes are ruined by the hogs; in this grave-yard I, for one, would not wish to be buried; it is a pasture ground for swine and cattle; we can not exist on this station very long."

In the following year he writes:—"If there are three, four or five hearers at our services every three or four weeks, we feel overjoyed, (*sind wir himmlisch vergnügt*). We did not celebrate the 'Heathen Festival,' there are heathen enough here amongst us." He complains of the prevalence of intemperance and shiftlessness among his members, and of their unwillingness to render any help to the minister in charge. "We are not quite dead yet, but often suffer actual want; we celebrated our 'Gemein-Fest' with three brethren."

Notwithstanding the aversion to the cemetery, so pointedly expressed by this long-suffering servant of the Lord, he actually found his final earthly resting-place within the bounds of this spot.

On June 19, 1805, after an illness of several months, he departed

[19] Samuel Towle was born in England, November 26, 1757; while a single man he served on the Mission among the Esquimaux; was married January 12, 1792, to Elizabeth Emerson of London. They served on the Mission in Antigua, W. I., later at Gnadenhütten, at Old Man's Creek and at Newport, R. I. He removed to Nazareth in 1817 as a retired minister. His wife died here December 11, 1823, and he himself departed on New Year's Day of the following year. Two daughters, living in Salem, N. C., survived him.

this life. Bro. John Frederic Frueauff was with him in his last moments, and conducted his burial service on the 21st.[20]

John Caspar Freytag and Hannah (m. n. Fernley) his wife, were sent to minister to the remnant of this congregation in November of this year.

A comparatively young man, of buoyant spirits and vigorous health, he entered upon his duties as minister, school-teacher and husbandman, with zeal and ardor. The improvement of the cemetery was a special object of his concern, and, after four years of untiring attempts to arouse his shiftless and procrastinating members, a neat picket-fence stood in place at last, and his exclamation of triumph over the accomplishment of this long-needed improvement savors of a pardonable spice of sarcasm.

His school grew from an attendance of two, in 1805, to thirty, in 1806, the greater part of the pupils being children of the German neighbors.

In 1807 the congregation was reduced to seventeen members; services, other than festivals and funerals, were attended but sparsely; the neighbors, even, came but seldom, and then chiefly to converse on temporal affairs.

New Year's Day of 1813 was passed over without any divine service, because of festivities going on in the neighboring tavern at Lehighton, (as the new village had been termed since 1809).

During this year the only remaining member of the congregation, Joseph Rhoads, made preparations for his removal to Ohio, and Freytag[21] asked to be relieved of his duties; he writes:—"For

[20] John Christian Fritz (sometimes written Friz), was born in Anspach, Germany; moved at various times with his parents to Wirtemberg and Silesia; in November 1744 entered the Boys' School, in charge of the Moravians, at Ebersdorf. In 1750 was put to learning the trade of purse-maker. In 1770 he took charge of the boys in the economy in Bedford, Eng. In 1771 he went to Salem, N. C., where, in 1774, he married the widow Elizabeth von der Merck, (m. n. Lœsch) and employed himself at purse-making. Having been ordained Deacon in 1780, he took charge of the congregation at Hope, N. C. In 1789 he went as missionary to Tobago, W. I., returned to Bethlehem in 1798, and, moved to Nazareth in 1802. He had no children.

[21] His surviving children were Catharine (md. to the late Matthew Christ), born in Bethlehem, September 1, 1805; died January 20, 1866.

Justina Birkby (md. to the late Dr. Abrm. L. Huebener), born in Gnadenhütten, October 12, 1810; died at Bethlehem, January 16, 1884.

John, born in Gnadenhütten in 1812; living at Bethlehem.

eight years have we lived, nay, rather existed, at this post, under severe and innumerable trials and discouragements."

Joseph Rhoads[22] folded his tents in 1814, and followed the stream of emigration, which had for some time been trending its course into Ohio.

What may, peradventure, have been the feelings of the solitary watchman on the Gnadenhütten hills as he saw the last of his flock, with wife and children, goods and chattels, leaving the Mahoning Valley and traveling towards the set of the sun, this deponent will not attempt to chronicle. Suffice it to say, he remained in his turret-capped domicile with the partner of his joys and sorrows, hopes and disappointments, for another twelve month. In 1815 he purchased a farm near Cherryville, in Northampton County, and, on the church-yard in that village, may be read the simple inscriptions relating to the birth and death of these faithful servants of the Lord, the last Moravian laborers at Gnadenhütten on the Mahoning, to wit: —

JOHN CASPAR FRIDAY.
Born January 6, 1769, in Germany.
Died April 3, 1821.

HANNAH FRIDAY
(late Fernley).
Born May 19, 1771,
in Yorkshire, England,
and departed this life April 30, 1823.

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[22] Joseph Rhoads was born of Quaker parents in 1756, in Bucks County, Pa. In 1773 married Rosanna Edmonds; was admitted into the Moravian Church at Gnadenhütten by baptism in 1785; his wife died October, 1790, and in May, 1781, he married Catharine Preidy. In June, 1814, he moved to Beersheba, a settlement on the south side of the Tuscarawas (then called the Muskingum). He died August 20, 1824, and is buried at Beersheba. Eleven children survived him.

LETTERS OF CONDOLENCE

ADDRESSED TO COUNT NICHOLAS LEWIS VON ZINZENDORF,

ON THE DEATH OF HIS SON CHRISTIAN RENATUS.

(Prepared for the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society by Bishop de Schweinitz.)

LETTERS OF CONDOLENCE.

(*Prepared for the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society by Bishop de Schweinitz.*)

SOME years ago we found the following letters in the Bethlehem Archives, in a package tied up with the "Beylagen zum Jüngerhaus Diarium" for the year 1752.

Of Zinzendorf's twelve children eight died in infancy or early childhood, and only four grew up to maturity. These four were: the Countess Henrietta Benigna Justina, born December 28, 1725; the Count Christian Renatus, born September 19, 1727; the Countess Maria Agnes, born November 6, 1735; and the Countess Elizabeth, born April 25, 1740.

In 1749 Christian Renatus was summoned to London where his father was staying, in order that he might assist him in the discharge of his manifold duties. The young Count's health was not good; symptoms of consumption had begun to appear; and the disease was aggravated by the remorse which he experienced because he had been drawn into the extravagancies of the "Time of Sifting." He had always been devoted to Christ and loved Him with his whole heart, even in that unfortunate period. But now the more he mourned the nearer he drew to his Saviour, so that when he died, in the morning of the 28th of May, 1752, his faith triumphed gloriously and the intense longings of his heart were satisfied. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

About two years earlier Zinzendorf had purchased Lindsey House, in Chelsea, with the intention of making it a governmental center for the whole Unitas Fratrum. Lindsey House, which is still standing, occupies the site of the residence of the celebrated

Sir Thomas More, to which he retired after resigning the Lord Chancellorship in the time of Henry the Eighth. It is an imposing building in the style of Louis the Fourteenth, and was a seat of the Dukes of Lancaster. A plot of ground back of this edifice, with a small chapel adjoining, Zinzendorf designated as a burial-place for the members of the Moravian Church in London. It is still used for this purpose, although Lindsey House no longer belongs to the Brethren.

Christian Renatus had been living in Westminster; his remains, decked with flowers and a laurel wreath around his brow, were borne to a barque, moored at the Parliament House, and conveyed to Chelsea, where a temporary receptacle had been prepared for them in the burial-ground to which his father gave the name of Sharon. On the 29th of December following, in the night, in the presence of many Brethren, they were transferred to a vault which had meanwhile been constructed; and there they rest to this day awaiting the resurrection of the just.

I.

FROM THE PRIVATE SECRETARY OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES.

Augusta, the Princess of Wales, a daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, and wife of Frederick, Prince of Wales, was the mother of George the Third, of England.

Sir: — Her Royal Highness, the Princess of Wales, having received the Letter by which you notify the decease of your Son, Count Christian Renatus, I am commanded by Her Royal Highness to condole with you on this unfortunate occasion.

Having obeyed my orders, if you permit me to add my expressions of concern for this melancholy event, I shall trouble you no farther at present, than to beg of you to believe me, with very sincere and great respect,

Sir,

your most obedient and most humble Servant,

CRESSET.

Kiew, May 30, 1752.

II.

FROM THE HON. THOMAS PENN.

Thomas Penn was a son of William Penn by his second wife, and one of the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania.

Sir: — It was with great Concern I heard in the Country of the death of that most valuable young Nobleman your Son, whose death must be a very general Loss to the Publick, as his Example and Labours in Religious matters must have had great influence wherever he came.

As soon as I received the Notification your Excellency sent me of it, I went to Westminster Abbey to have paid you my Compliments of Condolence on so very affecting an occasion; and finding you were retired into the Country, intended to stay till your Return, and then do it in Person. But as your Return is uncertain, I am unwilling to defer longer telling you my Concern, least it should be construed a want of regard to a Person of so much Merit.

I am fully persuaded you will be supported under this heavy Loss, as your Confidence is placed on a never-failing Foundation.

I am with great Truth,

Sir,

your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PENN.

Spring Garden, June 12, 1752.

III.

FROM THE HON. ARTHUR ONSLOW, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Arthur Onslow was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in 1727 and filled the office for thirty-three years, "with higher merit," says his biographer, "probably, than any one either before or after him, with unequaled impartiality, dignity, and courtesy." He retired in 1761.

My Lord: — I was in the Country when I received the honor of your Lordship's Letter, and did intend to have waited upon you at my coming to Town: but as I find your Lordship is not here, I beg you will let this convey to your Lordship my sincere Condolence with you, on the death of your Son. The Character you give of him, speaks your Loss and your Comfort too; I heartily wish you a Continuance of the Last, and am with great Respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and most obedient servant,

ONSLOW.

Leicester Street, June 7, 1752.

IV.

FROM LORD CARLISLE.

Lord Carlisle, Viscount Howard, belonged to a family prominent in English history.

Sir:—Though I am very much obliged to you, Sir, for the honour you did me by yours of the 21st, yet I am extremely concerned at the occasion; and as I had some years ago the same misfortune, I can very sensibly feel it.

Mr. Cossart knows that I am very willing to give all proper encouragement to your industrious people, and as I suppose he will go into Scotland this year, he will visit all my estate in Cumberland, whether he thinks it will be a proper place to make a Settlement there. By what he told me, I was in hopes you would have made a tour into the North this year, and then I should have been in hopes of the honour of seeing you here; being with the greatest regard,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

CARLISLE.

Castle Howard, May 31, 1752.

V.

FROM LADY MARGARET INGHAM.

Lady Margaret Ingham, by birth Lady Margaret Hastings, sister to the Earl of Huntingdon, was the wife of the celebrated Benjamin Ingham, who produced a powerful revival in Yorkshire, England, and asked the Moravians to take charge of a number of his Societies, which led to the founding of the Moravian settlement at Lamb's Hill, now called Fulneck.

My Lord:—I return my sincere thanks for the Favour of yours, and I sympathise with you, not only on the Loss you have sustained as a Fellow Helper in the Lord's work, but on the sensible feelings you must have on the parting with so near a relation as an only Son: there is something, I know, one can't but feel, and which, I believe, is from the Lord; tho' the translation one even thirsts after for one's self, and one rejoices at their happiness.

My dear Husband is from home, else would, I am certain, have joined with herein:

I beg leave to assure you of my respects, and am your Lordship's humble Servant, affectionately in the Wounds of the dear Lamb of God,

MARGARET INGHAM.

Abberforth, June 3, 1752.

VI.

FROM THOMAS WILSON, D.D., LL.D., BISHOP OF SODOR AND MAN.

The venerable Bishop of Sodor and Man was remarkable for his humility, conscientiousness and devotedness to Christian duty—a man of prayer and deep piety. As his letter shows, he was nearly ninety years of age. He had been appointed President of the so-called "Reformed Tropus" in the Unitas Fratrum. The Lutheran, Reformed and Moravian Tropuses, or "manner of training," were, Zinzendorf taught, all combined in the Unitas Fratrum; and over the first and second of these Tropuses, divines outside of the communion of the Brethren were asked to preside.

Most Illustrious Count and most Reverend Prelate:—This day I received your Highness's most kind and most condescending Letter, which I had no reason to expect, considering my great Neglect and Silence, in not acknowledging the Letters, Favours, and Remembrances of a Prince and Bishop so much superior to his most obliged and humble Servant.

I do most sincerely condole with your Excellency and the Church on account of the Death of Count Christian, your Lordship's only Son: the only alleviation of so grievous a Loss is the comfort, that a Name engaged in so great and good a work, was most surely written in the Lamb's Book of Life, with those Lambs he had sent before him, and those which he had prepared to come after him.

This makes the Case of mine and my only Son less afflicting: my great age (being 89) and his great disorders and relapses are tokens of no long life: so that our departure hence will not be attended with a very long Separation, but in a short time, thro' the grace of God, and the merits and mediation of our dear Redeemer, we shall be qualified to meet in the mansions of the Saints departed, in the House of the great God, waiting for a blessed Resurrection and a favorable Sentence.

In hopes of this blessed End of our Pilgrimage and Labours here, I beg your Lordship's prayers for myself and Son, that we may meet you and yours in the Paradise of God, there to live in peace and in hopes of a blessed Resurrection.

I shall be much obliged to Mr. Cossart, if he can have time, to let me know how your Excellency's great and good designs succeed in propagating the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ in foreign parts; that its saving truths may be received in that part of the world, which has been so long in darkness and under the power of Satan.

I am not surprised that the Evil Spirit and his Agents are disturbed with the prospect of losing so great a part of his subjects. A book was lately published in Ireland, entitled "The Heresy of the Moravians." The Author thereof is not rejoicing with St. Paul, that Christ is preached, except it be in his own way.

My very old age and a wandering Gout for two years and a half past, I know, will by your Excellency's Goodness be accepted as an Apology for this hasty Answer from Your Lordship's most obliged and most humble Servant,

THOMAS.

Isle of Man, June 15, 1752.

VII.

FROM THOMAS WILSON, D.D., CHAPLAIN TO THE KING AND PREBENDARY OF WESTMINSTER.

Thomas Wilson was that son of the Bishop of Sodor and Man to whom he refers in the above letter. He became Prebendary at Westminster in 1743 and for forty-six years was Rector of St. Stephen's, at Walbrook. The anticipations of his father regarding his early death were not fulfilled, for he lived to be eighty-one years of age. He was the author of several works and had been appointed Deputy of the Reformed Tropus of the Unitas Fratrum.

My Lord:—I should not have so long neglected answering your Lordship's kind Favour, had not I every day expected to have heard from my honour'd Father, who, I am afraid, by his long Silence is confin'd by some severe Fit of the Gout. Could I have acquainted your Loss with a good Account of him, it would, I know, have been agreeable News.

I condole with the Church of Christ at the great seeming Loss of your Lordship's excellent Son; but you have long learn'd the Lesson taught us by our blessed Saviour, of a pious Resignation to His blessed Will, who never willingly or in vain afflicts any of His faithful Servants. And unless we could dive into the Counsels of the Almighty, it would be presumptuous in any of us to say, what is good or bad, since we know from his Mouth of infinite Wisdom, that all things work together for good to them that love Him.

We cannot look upon that as any Loss, that your Son is happier sooner than by the Course of Nature might have been expected. But why should I pretend to give, where I should receive advice?

I wish your Lordship may find able and proper Assistants to carry on and extend the kingdom of the Redeemer in Parts where they have never yet heard of Him: and that you would believe me to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient Servant

THOMAS WILSON.

Bath, June 20, 1752.

VIII.

FROM LORD CHESTERFIELD.

Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield was the well-known English courtier, orator, and wit, renowned as a model of politeness and an oracle of taste, and not without fame as a diplomatist and statesman. In religious matters he was a skeptic.

Monsieur:—Je vous assure que je prens une véritable part à la perte que vous venez de faire. Le mérite reconnu de Monsieur votre fils vous le doit rendre d'autant plus sensible. Je ne vous offre point les lieux communs de consolation à cette occasion; votre religion et votre raison vous en présenteront les meilleures motifs.

Je me contenterai de vous assurer de la parfaite considération avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant Serviteur,

CHESTERFIELD.

Vendredi matin.

XI.

FROM THE HON. TAYLOR WHITE, JUDGE OF THE COURT.

My Lord:—The Loss of his Excellency Count Christian Renatus gives me inexpressibly concern not only on account of the multitude who were made happy by his Ministry, but for the particular and heavy Share, Your Grace sustains of that Misfortune in the Loss of so excellent a Son and so able a Coadjutor, whose early Piety could only be rewarded by his Lord, in whose Service he exhausted his Health and Strength. Permit me to join in the Wishes and prayers of many thousands, that you may be comforted and strengthened on this mournful occasion, so that you may be long enabled to support that eminent and laborious Station in the Church to which it has pleased the Divine Providence to call you.

I am your Grace's most obedient and most humble Servant,

TAYLOR WHITE.

Lincolnsinnfields, May 29, 1752.

X.

FROM THOMAS, BISHOP OF LONDON.

My Lord:—Yesterday I had the Honor of your Excellency's Letter. It was with great Concern that I received the News of the Death of Count Christian Renatus, and with a true Compassion for yourself. For tho' I am fully persuaded that your own Mind has furnished you with all the Consolation that true Religion and a firm dependence upon Providence can suggest; yet, since the best and the wisest are not exempt from a sense and feeling of affliction, you will give me leave to condole with you for this great Loss.

The tenderness you express for the many who will suffer by this Loss, suspending the Sense of your own Suffering in compassion to theirs, is an instance of that greatness of mind which is to be learn'd only in the School of Christ.

I pray God to make up the Loss to you and yours in every respect, and to conduct us all through the paths mark'd out by His Providence, to those happy Mansions, which He, who loved us, is gone before to prepare for us.

I am, my Lord, with great respect your Excellency's most obedient Servant and affectionate Brother,

THOMAS OF LONDON.

Fulham, May 30, 1752.

XI.

FROM THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

The Archbishop of Canterbury sends his compliments to My Lord Advocate, and begs leave to condole with him on the occasion of the late trying Accident in his Family. The Archbishop wishes all health and happiness to his Lordship.

(*Manu Propria.*)

XII.

FROM THE BISHOP OF WORCESTER.

May it please your Excellency: — Being at this place upon Account of my Health, the Honour of your Letter has not received so speedy an Acknowledgment as it would otherwise have done.

The Death of Count Christian Renatus must sensibly affect every body that was informed of his Christian and therefore amiable character.

The divine goodness can alone support the immediate Sufferers or supply so great a Loss to the Church of Christ.

However convinced of the Wisdom and Goodness of the divine Proceedings, 'tis impossible not to sympathise with so great an Affliction.

I have the Honour to be with the utmost Respect and Esteem, My Lord, your Excellency's most obedient humble Servant,

WORCESTER.

Bristol, June 8, 1752.

XIII.

FROM GENERAL CADOGAN.

General Charles Baron Cadogan was the brother of William Earl and Baron Cadogan who, in 1722, succeeded Marlborough as commander-in-chief of the British Army, and from whom the writer of the letter inherited his title.

Sir: — I was honour'd, by last post, with your Letter of the 20th instant, giving me an Account of the death of Count Christian Renatus your Son. And although I had not the pleasure to be acquainted with him, do most sincerely condole with you on so great a Loss; whose personal merit must have vastly increased the Affliction of a tender Father, on so melancholy an occasion.

I am, with all due respect, Sir, your most humble and obedient Servant,

CADOGAN.

Caussham, May 31, 1752.

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